

A Study of Attitudes with Specific Reference  
to Language Attitudes among Three  
Newfoundland Dialects

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## ABSTRACT

The objectives of this dissertation are: to contrast theorists' definitions of attitude as a hypothetical construct with linguists' empirical findings of attitudes as social markers to explain speech differences; and to investigate language attitudes in three Newfoundland dialect communities: St. John's, Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove. To focus the study overall I hypothesized that: 'ingroup behavior results in attitudes being more positive toward one's own dialect than toward the dialects spoken by outgroups. Where such attitude behaviour does not create this ingroup/outgroup contrast, the degree of homogeneity operating among the dialect speakers identifies a single speech community.'

To elicit data a four part questionnaire was designed. Part I consisted of twenty questions seeking background information about the respondents. Part II elicited attitudes to fifty-four questions subgrouped: (i) Qs. 21-7 geographical dialects, (ii) Qs. 28-34 'acceptable Newfoundland English', (iii) Qs. 35-44 'educated Newfoundland English', (iv) Qs. 45-65 a self-analysis of respondents' own speech, (v) 66-70 social dialects. Part III involved fifteen samples of spoken dialects and Part IV contained fifteen examples of writing of these same dialect speakers. Respondents answered a total of one hundred and four questions. Seven underlying dimensions were proposed.

Respondents' attitudes were analyzed from two perspectives: ingroup respondents' attitudes to their own speech variety and outgroup respondents' attitudes to the speech varieties spoken by others. By using a graded scale to record the responses factor analysis was made possible. Part II of the questionnaire, consisting of fifty-four questions was analyzed first and produced



four dimensions: F1 'geo-dialectal', F2 'language standard awareness', F3 'linguistic security', and F4 'socio-dialectal'. Parts III and IV containing thirty questions were analyzed together and produced two dimensions: F5 'spoken perception' and F6 'written perception'. In view of these the data was analyzed across three geographical and six social groups.

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## Chapter 1

# INTRODUCTION

Attitudes have been the focus of theoretical and empirical research by social psychologists for more than half a century. In recent years however linguists have identified them as social markers to explain speech differences in various language contexts. This identification has created a new context for observation, language attitudes. Because they had been noted outside of the general realm of social psychological research language attitudes lacked a tradition of theoretical discussion. Yet in spite of this, those who investigated them tended to ignore the great volume of research already established by major theorists. The result of this has led linguists, e.g., R. Cooper and J.A. Fishman (1974) and social psychologists, e.g., H. Giles (1979), to strongly urge current researchers in both disciplines to acknowledge each others' findings and to profit from them where possible. This present study aims at bridging this gap and applying these new insights to an investigation of language attitudes.

Therefore preliminary to discussing the sample, questionnaire and data I will present an overview of the major theoretical discussion, definitions and measuring techniques of attitudes as put forth by both social psychologists and linguists. In this report I will review attitude as a hypothetical construct, as overt behaviour, as language attitudes, and finally the various methods for measuring them. Such a comprehensive review will point out the voluminous research of major theorists and show how significant it is for the study of attitudes in any context. As long as they continue as a focus for research, either social psychological or linguistic, every effort should be made to coordinate the research of attitudes so that it may be beneficial to investigators in both disciplines.

Beyond this the focus of my investigation is language attitudes. Specific reference will be made to the 'regional standard' of a small urban center in contrast to the dialects of two rural communities on the eastern coastline of Newfoundland. In particular attitudes were elicited from speakers of the St. John's dialect, the Southern Shoreline dialect as spoken in Bay Bulls, and the Northern Shoreline dialect as spoken in Pouch Cove. These have been identified and isoglossed by Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968) in *The Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland; an Ethno-linguistic Study*. Their fourth, the Bay Roberts dialect, was discarded because of its distance from St. John's and the two communities chosen to represent the other dialects. The attitudes elicited were used to test the following hypothesis: 'ingroup behaviour results in attitudes being more positive toward one's own dialect than toward the dialects spoken by outgroups. Where such attitude behaviour does not create this ingroup/outgroup contrast the degree of homogeneity operating among the dialect speakers identifies a single speech community.'

A broader context for this study involves 'what constitutes a group' and 'intergroup relations'. Berger emphasizing the notion underlying each of these says that "every society contains a repertoire of identities that is part of the objective knowledge of its members" (Berger, 1966:106). As members of a society we tend to gravitate toward social groups which have, for example, an ethnic, geographical, political, religious, linguistic basis. In this investigation language is the means of identifying the group. Yet within any of these a great deal of overlapping usually occurs with other similar groups. Not all members of a particular language identity will belong to the same ethnic or religious group. Each of these may consist of smaller subgroups and still these may be broken down further. Within a language group we may find many dialects. For example, in Newfoundland English we have geographically, the St. John's, Northern Shoreline and Southern Shoreline dialects to mention only a few. One of these may identify a number of smaller sociolects. For example, in the St. John's dialect we have St. John's upper class cultivated speech and St. John's common speech.



This intergroup structure reflects the framework in which I collected my attitude data and how I will contrast these attitudes in my analysis.

H. Tajfel (1974) identified in his discussion of group and intergroup behaviour four linked concepts for analysis: social categorization, social identity, social comparison and psychological distinctiveness. In social categorization attitudes may define the individual's place as part of a group in society. Social identity is part of a person's self-concept. It helps him to acknowledge his membership in a particular social group as well as to have some emotional attachment to it. Social comparison and psychological distinctiveness are two features affecting social mobility. When members of one group interact with those of another they make comparisons on a number of value dimensions. They will compare themselves to those of an outgroup or to the group as a whole. If they appraise the outgroup more favorably than their own then they will usually attempt to converge with the new group on the basis of social comparison. If they appraise the outgroup as less favorable then greater divergence occurs and hence psychological distinctiveness results. These appraisals may result in either positive or negative attitudes being expressed toward the particular group. All four features may reflect the intragroup activity that occurs within a speech community.

L. Festinger (1954) said individuals strive 'naturally' for a satisfying self-image of themselves. Since speech is such a noticeable personality trait (Lambert et al., 1967; et al.), speaking a prestigious variety of the language would obviously be satisfying because that dialect would afford a positive social identity. This would result in positive language attitudes toward that particular dialect. In turn psychological distinctiveness would be created and would contrast ingroup/outgroup attitudes. The reverse of this would also be true. If individuals were dissatisfied with the image that they have of their dialect they would tend to converge with speakers of another. The outcome would result in negative attitudes being expressed toward the ingroup's dialect. As part of this

investigation I will be considering these types of ingroup/outgroup attitudes as they are expressed among the speakers of an urban and two rural dialects and how they might relate to the existence of a single speech group or three separate speech communities.

The narrower context for this study takes place among the dialects of the Avalon Peninsula where each data community represents a different dialect area. Because each community is within the greater Metropolitan area of St. John's extensive convergence is taking place among the dialects. It appears that the levelling is in favor of the St. John's urban dialect. As well certain social factors help to account for this convergence. People from one of the rural communities, Pouch Cove, already commute to St. John's for most of their employment and educational needs. The other rural community, Bay Bulls, has only slightly more autonomy regarding these aspects. Primarily this is due to its fish plant which provides a stronger economic base, as well secondary-school facilities are located in Mobile a nearby community. I am not suggesting that these dialects are no longer distinctive nor that variations are not found in the speech of younger people. Although the informants used in the Seary et al. study came from the older generation, native speakers living within the community and generally not educated beyond high school still reflect the dialect at any age.

Using a multi-stage sampling technique I selected one hundred and thirty-five respondents for my investigation. To contrast geographical group perspectives I chose the sample from three dialect regions: (i) eighty-four respondents from the urban center St. John's to represent the St. John's dialect; (ii) twenty-eight respondents from Pouch Cove, for the Northern Shoreline dialect; and (iii) twenty-three respondents from Bay Bulls for the Southern Shoreline dialect. Throughout this dissertation, references to the names of the communities and/or the names of the dialect regions will be considered synonymous. The social group perspectives will be contrasted by the following: eleven administrators, fifteen teachers, forty students, thirty-six parents, six

employers and twenty-seven employees. If the sample appears small for the statistical procedures which I will later apply it is not. As a single group of one hundred and thirty-five it is well within acceptable mathematical limits.

To elicit data a four-part questionnaire was used. Part I consisted of twenty demographic questions. Part II involved fifty-four attitude questions subgrouped as: (i) Qs. 21-7 geographical dialects, (ii) Qs. 28-34 'acceptable Newfoundland English', (iii) Qs. 35-44 'educated Newfoundland English', (iv) Qs. 45-65 a self-analysis of respondents' own speech, (v) Qs. 66-70 social dialects. Part III contained fifteen samples of spoken dialects and Part IV consisted of fifteen samples of written language by speakers from each of the dialect areas. In total respondents were asked to answer one hundred and four questions. Apart from the demographic questions seven underlying dimensions were proposed to be measured. Respondents recorded their attitude responses in Part II of the questionnaire on a seven point graded scale with various bi-polar adjectives. Parts III and IV used a three point graded scale with the bi-polar adjectives, 'acceptable and non-acceptable'. All scales involved a negative to positive continuum with a point of neutral value. In Part II only I also included twelve multiple-choice questions.

I analyzed respondents' attitudes toward these eight dimensions from two perspectives: ingroup or respondents' attitudes to their own speech variety and outgroup, or respondents' attitudes to the speech varieties spoken by others. The analytic procedure used was factor analysis. I chose this technique because: (i) except for the multiple-choice questions all other responses were recorded on graded scales and were suitable for this type of analysis, (ii) it eliminated ineffective attitude statements, (iii) it would confirm or deny the intuitive structuring of the questions in terms of significant factors, and (iv) it would present the best linear presentation of the data. Part II was factor analyzed separately from Parts III and IV. The latter I analyzed together seeking two potential dimensions, a spoken one and a written one. If these groups of questions

were measuring what I had proposed, altogether factor analysis should produce seven common factors, five for Part II and two for Parts III and IV. Having identified the factors a Oneway analysis of variance to test linearity was carried out through the subprogram Breakdown. This enabled me to contrast for ingroup/outgroup meaningful differences by geographical and social groups. Significant differences were checked through a range of a posteriori tests varying from the liberal Duncan test at the .10 level through to the Student-Newman-Keuls test at the .05 level and the Scheffe test at the .01 level. Following a discussion of the results of these tests by geographical and social groups I will summarize with a final statement for the dissertation.

## Chapter 2

# ATTITUDES: THEORETICAL

### 2.1. Introduction

Chapters 2 and 3 of this report present an overview of major theoretical discussions, definitions and empirical linguistic research which revealed attitudes ranging chronologically from 1918 to recent times. During this period social psychologists set the foundation for investigating and defining the concept. Theoretically, they even prepared the way for such specialized areas as language attitudes which is the focus of chapter 3. There I will emphasize language attitude research as investigated in seven different contexts, pointing out how the theoretical nature of this concept has been generally ignored by linguists in their findings. Such a comprehensive overview will present a clearer picture of attitude per se as well as give some insights into how it has evolved at least in the direction of language attitudes.

Chapter 2, attitude viewed as a hypothetical construct, reviews three major approaches for analyzing this concept: (i) the mentalists' view as a 'readiness to respond' (F.H. Allport, 1924; G. Allport, 1935; Doob, 1947; Chein, 1947; Campbell, 1947); (ii) the behaviourists' view as 'response' (Bain, 1928; Bernard, 1931; DeFleur and Westie, 1963); (iii) the division of attitude into components - cognitive, affective and conative (Sherif and Cantril, 1945 and 1946; Krech and Crutchfield, 1948; Lambert and Lambert, 1964; Newcomb, Turner and Converse, 1964; and Rokeach, 1968). All of these views essentially stem from Thomas and Znaniecki (1918), first gave the concept some stability in the behavioral sciences.

Earlier theorists initially used attitude in unrelated fields of studies with little agreement regarding its boundaries or its properties. In 1918 Thomas and Znaniecki introduced the concept into social psychology and gave it a focus and a systematic use. However to define attitude was a more difficult task and one which was to cause considerable arguing over the next half century. By 1935 G. Allport noted that attitude had been reinterpreted several times and made it more clearly understood. It had by this time become entrenched in the literature of social psychology and was no longer confused with other similar concepts. During the next two decades research into attitudes became extensively theoretical. Definitions were top-heavy with elaborated concepts which included contentious questions of definitions. Theorists even analyzed attitude into components and distinguished it from related concepts, e.g., habit and opinion (McGuire, 1968:37). From about 1950 to the present social psychologists, sociologists and linguists have been placing greater emphasis on the empirical context of attitudes, thus creating more of a common ground for all three disciplines.

Regardless of the many interpretations from the earlier theorists only a limited number of themes were actually expressed. Some conceived and presented their own definitions while others merely reviewed the literature and concluded in favor of a particular one. There were those who offered new interpretations based on aspects of previous definitions or acknowledged diversity and despaired at finding consensus. Finally, others attempted to interpret the various proposals into a common language (Greenwald, 1968:363). However there were those who attempted to discard the concept from the discipline altogether saying that other concepts, e.g., habit and opinion, were suitably covering the conceptual area anyway. To introduce another term was only to add further confusion to the conceptual area.



## 2.2. Attitude used systematically

Attitudes studied theoretically have been the focal point of research within the behavioural sciences many times since the beginning of this century. Indeed even when they have not been a major issue they have always been important enough for continued discussion. H. Cantril (1932) suggested a reason for this in saying that many writers in sociology and social psychology as well as those relating these two areas to pure psychology seemed to conceive of attitude as a key problem in research. W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki obviously recognized the importance of attitude. They were the first to use it as a key concept in a systematic way in their research on Polish peasants in Europe and America. In this investigation they pointed out how attitudes influenced specific activity in a community as the relationships between individuals and socially significant objects. As a result of their work they proposed the following definition

by attitude we understand a process of individual consciousness which determines real or possible activity of the individual in the social world (Thomas and Znaniecki, (1918) 1958:22).

"A process of individual consciousness" realized in social activity would mean the tendency a spendthrift would have to spend money or a laborer's decision to use tools. "Attitude is thus the individual counterpart of the social value; activity in whatever form, is the bond between them" (Thomas and Znaniecki, (1918) 1958:22). In referring to activity, hence to the social world, this definition distinguishes attitude from the psychical state beyond the known physical process. Therefore it is interpreted as a response toward something. In this context attitude was acceptable as a key concept and it soon became a central issue in the research of social psychologists. Thomas and Znaniecki had given the concept its first context and a definite direction but they had not defined it very precisely. As theorists turned their attention to attitudes new interpretations became the order of the day. This state of fluctuation created the appearance of less and less stability for attitude as a concept in research. Such

instability influenced P.M. Symond (1927) to recommend that attitude be deleted from the literature of the modern behavioral sciences altogether. He thought 'habit' covered the conceptual area sufficiently. R. Bain (1928) expressed a similar response, he saw theorists interpreting attitude as 'all things to all men'. Yet most theorists agreed that just because a concept was not definitive within its discipline did not prevent it from having significance in the literature.

### **2.3. Mentalists and behaviourists views**

F.H. Allport, the next major theorist, gave attitude a new direction and a stronger identity. Like his predecessors he also saw it as an important factor in influencing social behaviour. For him however attitudes were neural settings, response reflexes from the nervous system. For example, if we suggest to a person under hypnosis to respond at a certain time to an object he will later carry out the suggestion when he is no longer in the hypnotic state. Attitudes are built up in our every day life to respond similarly. Neural settings were then recognized as socially significant. With this association determined Allport identified attitude with motor or mental set, "the motor set thus built up by suggestion we may call attitude" (Allport, 1924:244). While I do not accept this definition in its entirety the notion of attitude being sustained over a period of time is the premise underlying the attitudes elicited in Part II of my questionnaire. The idea of attitudes being spontaneous makes the response seem rather unreliable since they could change easily toward the socially significant object depending on other social influences, e.g., stressful situations. Finally, Allport's repositioning attitude meant that his definition identified a particular and an acceptable view. He thought that since attitude could not be observed directly it was inferred from a person's mental 'state of readiness'. Thus Allport proposed a view of attitude which was coined as 'mentalist'.

E.S. Bogardus was chosen to follow Allport because of his similar view of attitude and because he attempted to add scope to the definitions of the concept presented up to his time. He compared it with the ordering of personality. For



him attitudes were not as strongly inbred as desires, they had more specific relationships to the environment. Nor were attitudes considered opinions because if checked against behavior we may reject them. While Bogardus generally held the mentalists' view he felt uneasy about the actual positioning of attitude in relation to 'readiness to respond'. His definition proposes that

an attitude is a tendency to act toward or against something in the environment which becomes thereby a positive or negative value (Bogardus, 1931:52).

Bain also became concerned about the many definitions assigned to attitude. He attempted to find one acceptable to all by associating attitude with a general type of action concerned with human motivation. Attitude is "...the relatively stable overt behaviour of a person which affects his status" (Bain, 1928:950). This proposal gained significance for two reasons: first it placed attitude in strong contrast to Allport's (1924) definition, secondly it was moved from the level of a hypothetical construct to a more observable and operational level. Attitude was seen as 'overt behaviour' or simply as 'response'. Proposers of this view became known as 'behaviourists'. Together with the mentalists' view both positions represented the extremes of a controversy in the discussion of attitudes for the next several decades. However Bain later realized that problems existed in identifying overt behaviour as consistent with attitude. He says that

practically all investigators, when pressed, will admit probable discrepancy between verbal and actual behaviour, especially if the verbal "attitudes" are on tabooed subjects as many of them are (Bain, 1930:360).

Such a discrepancy questioning the reliability of one's data therefore questions its results.

L.L. Bernard (1931) varied from the behaviourists' position by seeing attitudes as less than overt acts, yet as a phase of the process which leads to them. Generally agreeing with the behaviourists' approach he accepted attitude as overt and saw it as a purely mental or emotional state. They result from

experiences and portray behaviouristic patterns acquired from them. Bernard defined attitude as "...an incomplete or suspended or inhibited act. It is a definite phase of behavior" (Bernard, 1931:46). They are continuous occurring over a period of time. For example, a person who learns a second language will express positive attitudes toward that language during the process of acquiring it. Attitudes are not completed behaviour they are ongoing behaviour, actions being achieved. Furthermore attitude may be either muscular or mental. By muscular Bernard meant a 'physical response', whereas by mental he meant a 'state of mind'. The division is not absolute but it represents the extremes of attitudinal behaviour. Muscular responses have their phases coordinated in the nervous system; mental attitudes originate in the emotional stage. Yet we can adjust them in preparation for a final redirected response performed by the neural center. Mental attitudes had greater significance for the adjustment of the behavioural process than did overt or bodily attitudes.

It is on the mental or higher neuropsychic level of attitudinal reorganization that the socially most significant, most complex, most far-reaching and far-seeing redirections of behavior occur. ... Language itself is the embodiment and objectification of the content of this neuropsychic readjustment technique (Bernard, 1931:51).

Bernard's definition of attitude as 'an incomplete or suspended or inhibited act' was qualified by E. Faris (1931). He said 'attitudes are not acts, they are predispositions'. Reinterpreted once again the concept now entered into another phase of the controversy. Faris reasoned we cannot separate people's subjective experiences from their objective movements. His view summarizes an earlier one by John Dewey who also viewed attitude as

...an acquired predisposition to ways or modes of response, not to particular acts except as under special conditions, these express a way of behaving (Dewey, 1922:40).

But Faris had proposed several additional refinements and made distinctions between conscious and unconscious, mental and motor, individual and group attitudes (Faris, 1931:12). Hence with every new interpretation in search of a

more precise definition, the direction changed and new problems arose. 'Predispositions' were now emphasized which posed problems for the behaviourists' since they could not be measured overtly.

G.W. Allport (1935) identified three major areas of origin for the concept. In experimental psychology of the late 19th century, psychologists used attitudes in laboratory investigations of time reaction employing such conceptual precursors as muscular set, task-attitude, mental and motor attitudes. Next psychoanalytic influences emphasized the dynamic unconscious bases of them. Thirdly, sociologists recognized them as the psychological representations of societal and cultural influences. This latter origin is obviously of greater importance for the sociolinguist's interpretation because attitudes are associated with social behaviour. Allport observed a common thread running through these diverse definitions, "a preparation or readiness for response...rather than overt and consummatory" (Allport, 1935:805). However helpful the earlier definitions of attitudes may have been Allport saw none of them up to his time as being entirely satisfactory.

For himself Allport proposed a typical mentalist's definition similar to that of F.H. Allport (1924). He implied that attitudes were not observable. Contrary to the behaviourists' definitions G.W. Allport thought they were inferred from the subject's introspection. This disposition was arrived at by the summation and integration of specific responses into a general 'set' which more obviously conditioned subsequent behaviour than did the immediate stimulus (Nelson, 1939:369). His definition built on the integration of these specific experiences defined attitude as

...a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related (Allport, 1935:810).

By relating attitudes to the mentalist's 'readiness to respond' Allport was saying they influence concomitant or future behaviour toward the object or situation.

Let us consider this example, if we know how urban speakers perceive rural speech, we should be able to predict how St. John's people would react when they meet Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove speakers. Predictions based on such knowledge are oftentimes correct. However we must be very careful of situations where the societal status of the speaker may strongly influence the attitude to the speaker's language variety. Such attitudes may be expressed negatively or positively toward the speaker's social status (clothing or physicalsize etc.) and not to the speaker's language variety.

L.W. Doob (1947) accepted Allport's interpretation of the problem of the genesis of attitudes' suggesting the need for 'learning theory'. He believed we learned attitudes, therefore 'learning theory' was essential for a clearer understanding of them. However he did not accept Allport's mentalist position. He wanted to redefine the concept in more measurable terms. Doob took great care to present his definition and to relate the concept to behavioural theory. But he did not take such an extreme position as suggested by Bain. His view for the behaviourists' position was

...an advance beyond the stage of defining an attitude as the subjective counterpart of something in the environment, as a predisposition within the organism or as being what the attitude scale measures (Doob, 1947:135).

He included each of the factors that he thought necessary for an adequate analysis of the concept and defined it as "...an implicit, drive-producing response considered socially significant in the individual's society" (Doob, 1947:136).

To clearly understand this definition we should further analyze the following features: implicit responses, anticipatory and mediating in reference to patterns of overt responses, evoked by stimulus patterns, resulting from previous learning, signatory and drive-producing, and socially significant. As 'implicit responses' attitudes occur subjectively within an individual and have no objectivity. They may be observable to an outsider. The reaction to the stimulus patterns tends to assume a subsequent overt response, meaning any observed

behaviour may have resulted from attitude. According to Doob it was not defined as the attitude itself. He restricted attitude to the immediate and implicit response of the individual. What was expressed, however, resulted not from the attitude alone; it represented another response in a behaviour sequence, an overt one. Such a view underlies the notion of the attitudes expressed in Parts III and IV of the questionnaire where respondents react to immediate stimuli in the forms of spoken and written language.

An 'anticipatory' or 'antedating' response is

one which originally preceded another rewarded response and which as a result of being associated with or producing this reward, has been reinforced so that it occurs before its 'original time in the response series' " (Doob, 1947:136)

'Mediating in reference to overt responses emphasizes the functional connection of the attitude toward its end. Such attitudes could be produced very easily because they involve language and imagery. Neither of them need have been in conflict with overt behaviour.

Using a concept which is implicit, anticipatory and mediating can cause numerous problems and Doob was quick to note some of them. Psychologically to classify attitudes was futile, because we can characterize such responses in different ways. No simple classification can fit all possible types of behaviour. Also, there must have been problems of perception and motivation. Secondly, for 'patterns of overt responses', "...overt behaviour can seldom be predicted from knowledge of attitude alone" (Doob, 1947:138). However the advantage of Doob's mid-way behaviouralism was that attitudes, although inferred from responses were still independent variables. They appear "...in the form of a latent psychological constant which is not tied to the specific external stimulus situation in which the responses are made" (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970:138). Doob's conclusion brought out some of the frustration noted earlier by Symond and Bain. He also considered dropping the term from the literature because he saw it as serving only a quasi-scientific need.



The demise of attitude in the far future will be a happy day for social science, since this event will signify the emergence of a more integrated and scientific system of human behavior (Doob, 1947:155).

I. Chein put forth his definition of attitude in his critique of Doob's definition. An attitude "...is a disposition to evaluate certain objects, actions and situations in certain ways" (Chein, 1948:52). We need not verbalize the evaluative aspect of this definition because an attitude may be either conscious or unconscious, momentary or persistent, socially significant or insignificant. In his critique Chein says Doob's 'implicit response' must have a 'disposition to evaluate'. There must be a possibility to verbalize, otherwise we could include irrational animals to formulate attitudes for they sometimes develop aversions similar to implicit responses. However Chein says it would not be useful to call such a response an attitude, for an attitude is persistent and in this way it might not qualify as a response. If persistent meant a class of responses then there is still a problem because such responses do not belong in the stimulus-response formula. Hence they do not belong in behaviour theory.

Another of Chein's criticisms concerned how Doob often seemed on the verge of thinking of attitude as 'habit', or at least as an established stimulus-response 'bond' which involved it. Such a definition would indeed give meaning to Doob's statement that attitude may persist. For although the response of the attitude may only be momentary the stimulus-response bond would presumably persist. Chein suggested it might be more logical to identify attitude and habit as one rather than to think of attitude merely as a response.

But an attitude cannot be both a response and a habit; it must be one or the other or neither. It is our inclination to say neither (Chein, 1948:53).

M.L. DeFleur and R.F. Westie in their review of the various definitions given to attitudes categorized them into two distinct conceptions. The first was

the 'probability conception', emphasizing the consistency shown by subjects who respond in defined ways toward attitudinal stimuli. These definitions implied definable sets of behaviours which individuals could perform as responses toward the stimulus in question. Also a determinable probability of such responses occurred in the individual's behavior showing a connection with the attitude object. This type of definition established attitude firmly in observable events. The second was the 'latent process conception'. It was assumed here that such response consistencies were manifestations of underlying variables which also mediated or defined the form of attitudinal behaviour. Allport and Doob presented some of the underlying assumptions, limitations, and logical consequences of this approach. Clearly these definitions included the stimulus response framework and the notions of consistency or probability. As well we can see here the additional idea that the individual's behavior is somehow 'guided' by some underlying process. Thus the 'latent process' has proven to be the more popular of the two conceptions. In spite of this the concept has associated with it the problem of people in 'real life' situations behaving consistently with their verbal attitudes, especially as measured by modern techniques.

DeFleur and Westie rejected the latter approach accepted by Allport and Doob in favor of 'probability conception'. But they did not reject it in its entirety. While simple and easily translated into behavioral terms such an approach had definite disadvantages. Definitions under this banner were general and did not specify the exact behaviour forms to be used in observing probabilities. Also they did not indicate clearly the observable operations constituting the operational definition of the concept. The form of conceptualizing does not distinguish attitude behaviour from other consistent modes of acceptance-avoidance responses to objects.

Essentially DeFleur and Westie tried to link their definition more firmly with methods employed in measuring attitudes. Hence they defined attitude

...as specified probabilities of a syndrome of responses...(1) the exact

'social object' which presumably provides the stimulation for these responses, (2) the exact nature and number of different classes or dimensions of responses, and (3) the exact measuring or observational operations employed to obtain a quantitative statement of an individual's response probability for each class of responses (DeFleur and Westie, 1963:30).

To understand what these theorists proposed, we must recognize that their definition was a striking departure from previous conceptions. They distinguished their interpretation by not making attitude an 'innerstate variable' but rather an 'inferred property' of the manifested responses. They have confused their definition and the measurement of attitudes with its subsequent use in a predicative theoretical system. The results could easily have led them to see problems where they were not, especially when observing the inconsistencies between what people say and what they do.

Attitude has been regarded as an innerstate variable that exists dispositionally, but the authors are denying its independence of the specific stimulus situation in which responses are observed (Alexander, 1967:279).

Two recent statements expressed about the mentalists' position of 'readiness to respond' are those of J. Bem (1970), R. Agheyisi and J.A. Fishman (1970). Bem says that in many situations a person's behavior determines his attitudes, not the reverse. Therefore the notion of 'readiness to respond' for the sociolinguist is better deemphasized as a central part of attitude. To recognize that people's attitudes and actions influence each other is not a difficult task. Therefore 'response' is a far more distinguishing factor for sociolinguists and hence a more operational characteristic. 'Response' has no disposition, it is the reaction, physically demonstrated or mentally conceived of an individual at the moment that the observation is perceived. What is present in 'response' and essential to it in the context of attitudes are the characteristics surrounding the socially significant object. In this sense no two attitudes are ever the same, not exactly the same. The circumstances of time and space are forever changing, social factors are constantly in a state of flux. Yet the proximity is sufficient to group such attitudes as similar.



Agheyisi and Fishman saw two problems in the 'state of readiness' definition: the first asks what constitutes the correct type of data from which attitudes may be inferred and the second how does one measure in observable terms something with no overt substance? At this stage they classified attitudes as broad and generic factors of behaviour. In addition we also had the traditional idea that the individual's behaviour was somehow conditioned by some underlying process. Therefore the possibility of getting a particular response from an individual to a specified attitude stimulus was due to the action of some unobservable control determining that consistency and appearing in the individual's response to the attitude stimulus.

#### **2.4. The component concept of attitude**

A different approach to the analysis of attitude was to break it down into components contrasting the unitary versus the multiple nature of the concept. This view was not in contrast with the mentalists' and behaviorists' positions. It was simply a different way of viewing attitude. Both schools however extended their differences to this approach as well. Most of those defining attitude as a latent psychological variable also tended to view it as having a component structure. Those identifying it with response tended to view it as a unitary component.

For the multiple structure of attitude psychologists conceived of it as having three existential stances pertaining to the human condition : cognitive (knowing), affective (feeling) and conative (acting), (see Inoko and Schopler, 1967; 361-76; McGuire, 1969: 136-314). The cognitive or knowing component is identified with perceptions as any information perceived about an attitude object (Harding et al., 1969:1-76). Also included in this component is the 'stereotyping' that a person may have about the attitude object. While this component may be 'fact oriented' it cannot be entirely separated from evaluation. In fact a number of theorists who emphasized this component also indicated that it may be further analyzed (see Katz and Shotland, 1959; Rokeach, 1960; Osgood, 1962; Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957).

The affective component investigates a person's emotional feelings toward an attitude object and essentially whether or not he likes it. Positive feelings are reflected in a respect or sympathy for the attitude object, while negative feelings are reflected in contempt or fear of it. Because of its purely evaluative nature many theorists believed that the affective component identifies the most central aspect of an attitude "...while viewing the cognitive and conative components as that form around it..." (McGuire, 1968:156). Finally, we identify the conative or feeling component with one's behaviour or action toward an attitude object. This is more directly observable as behaviour itself. Because of this overtness there has been more empirical research done on this component than on the other two.

C. Osgood supported the unitary concept of attitude by attributing to it only the affective component and defining it "...as its allocation to a point in the multidimensional semantic space" (Osgood, 1957:190). Attitude therefore is the projection of this point to the evaluative dimension of that space. Contrasting Osgood's support of the multicomponent concept are W.E. Lambert and W.W. Lambert (1964). They defined attitude as

...an organized and consistent manner of thinking, feeling, and reacting with regard to people, groups, social issues, or, more generally, to any event in one's environment (Lambert and Lambert, 1964:50).

The third component in this definition however is 'reaction tendencies' rather than 'reaction'. Therefore attitudes are not necessarily overtly expressed.

M. Fishbein's major criticism against the attitude multicomponent conception was that such a conception made it impossible to determine for each individual the actual interrelationship and organization of the attitude components with respect to any one attitude object. Such concepts are not only troublesome to handle in theory but they also "create almost unmanageable problems when theory is translated into research" (Fishbein, 1965:108). Hardly any of the theorists describing attitudes as organized had taken the trouble to explain or to measure in what sense this organization existed.

Thus, although "attitudes" are often said to include all three components, it is usually only evaluation or "the affective component" that is measured and treated by researchers as the essence of attitude (Fishbein, 1965:108).

Fishbein adhered to the unicomponent concept for his own definition of attitude. He said, "attitudes are learned predispositions to respond to an object or class of objects in a favorable way" (Fishbein, 1965:107). These predispositions consisted of two factors, the concepts of attitude and belief. The former involved the affective component only, thus making it unicomponent; while the latter consisted of the cognitive and action components. Hence an individual's attitude toward any object was a function of two factors, the strength of the individual's belief about the object and the evaluative aspect of those beliefs.

## **2.5. Theoretical attitudes concluded**

W.J. McGuire (1968) provides us with the best theoretical discussion of attitudes in recent literature. He was concerned primarily with psychological theorizing and experimentation. For the theoretical status of attitude McGuire was quite satisfied to accept Allport's (1935) definition and he noted five features for its consideration.

(1) It is mental and neural state (2) of readiness to respond, (3) organized (4) through experience (5) exerting a directive and/or dynamic influence on behaviour (McGuire, 1968:142).

He also saw in this definition a framework suitable for reviewing and discussing these various aspects.

In reference to this perception McGuire grouped many of the attitude theorists into two basic approaches. The mediationalists included Allport, Doob, Chein and Campbell because they believed attitude was a 'readiness to respond' and therefore tended to view it as having a multicomponent structure. The positivists included Bain, DeFleur and Westie because they believed attitude was

a 'response' and, therefore, tended to view it as unitary. In spite of their contrasts research practices have shown that very little differences existed between what was actually measured by either of these approaches. The reason for this was that those following them invariably based their inferences on the consistency of the responses. McGuire later expanded these two approaches into five because he found that the mediationalists were a rather heterogeneous group.

A number of the theorists reviewed showed some consensus. Most agreed attitudes were learned from previous experiences and were not momentary but relatively 'enduring'. These same theorists agreed attitudes bore at least some positive relationship to action or behaviour, either as 'predisposition to behaviour' or as a particular aspect of behaviour itself. There was however the suggestion that "not all the components of an attitude imply behavior" (Ehrlich, 1969:29). But M. Rokeach (1968) anticipated this objection and had a reply ready, "a disposition that does not lead to some response cannot be detected" (Rokeach, 1968:453).

H.J. Erhlich gave a final comment on this discussion in saying that it was not important what view psychologists supported. What was important was whether or not theoretical strategists should have in their fundamental statement a concern over the 'relationship of attitudes and behaviour'. For this part of the discussion and in conclusion to the component theory of attitude we have chosen to end in agreement with McGuire.

Our feeling is that, given the less than perfect state of our measuring procedures, the three components have proven to be so highly inter-correlated that theorists who insist on distinguishing them should bear the burden of proving the distinction is worthwhile (McGuire, 1968:157).

## Chapter 3

# ATTITUDES: LANGUAGE

### 3.1. Introduction

This present chapter continues the overview of attitudes into its language context. It centers on how they have been investigated in a number of different language areas, mostly by linguists but also by social psychologists. Where the research has been carried out by linguists the focus has been strongly on language with attitudes as resulting features. Where the investigations have been conducted by social psychologists the emphasis has been on attitudes with language being merely the context. The latter part of this chapter defines the concept theoretically for the forth coming investigation of language attitudes. This definition will include features understood and discussed in both disciplines. Following this I will summarize the theoretical discussions and the empirical linguistic investigations identifying attitudes.

Six categories for analysis of language attitudes have been proposed by Cooper and Fishman. In each of these language attitudes may appear as...

a catalyst for a sound change..., a defining characteristic of a speech community..., a predictor of second-language achievement..., a reflection of interethnic attitudes ..., a determinant of interlingual intelligibility ..., a determinant of teachers' perceptions of their pupils' ability... (Cooper and Fishman, 1974:5)

A seventh category and important for the second part of this dissertation views language attitudes as a catalyst for a reflection of interdialectal behaviour. Of the above I will review presently only those contexts which are central to this

investigation: (i) 'sound change', (ii) 'speech community', (iii) 'teachers' perceptions of their pupils', (iv) 'interethnic attitudes', (v) 'interdialectal attitudes'. The remaining contexts, 'predictor of second-language achievement' and 'determinant of interlingual intelligibility' appear in appendix A.

To categorize investigations of language attitudes according to the theoretical positions put forth in Chapter 2, linguists would be seen as behaviourists because they arrive at attitudes through responses and define them in reference to that context in which they have been identified. Generally linguists have not engaged in the theoretical discussion of attitudes. They identify them as responses to language within a particular social context, as social markers which simply explain certain linguistic phenomena. The focus of such research is the description and analysis of linguistic forms. From a theoretical position these responses may be seen as behavioural because they are observed as overt, reflecting a relationship between an individual and a socially significant object, language. Techniques for measuring language attitudes with a focus on such behavioral responses will be presented in Chapter 4.

### **3.2. Language attitude appears as a catalyst for a sound change...**

Cooper and Fishman did not state precisely what they meant by attitude appearing as a catalyst for a sound change nor will I attempt to qualify it for them. Throughout this review the question of synchronic/diachronic sound change may arise, however I will avoid it. Presently I am more interested in sound change as a context in which linguistic forms are seen to have social significance in terms of attitudes. Sound changes cause variations in the language, if 'observed' they may also cause people to express positive or negative attitudes. This type of language behavior will have significance for the present investigation.

L. Bloomfield (1933:46) was an early observer of the relationship between



language diversity and social interaction, but it was R.I. McDavid jr. (1946, 1948, 1951) who first systematically interrelated sound change with social factors. His 1948 investigation of the feature /r/ in South Carolina speech identified that constriction was occurring in words, e.g., "thirsty...father" where traditionally there had been retroflexion. In his analysis he realized geographical isolation alone could not explain the change of the variable's distribution pattern. The data proved more complicated, appearing to draw in other factors. As a result McDavid considered social factors and concluded that

in this particular problem, moreover, the social analysis seems more significant than it might seem in other's because the presence or absence of post-vocalic /r/ as constriction becomes an overt symbol of a very high level of sophistication (McDavid, 1948:194).

His phonological variables suggested social stratification or class distinction.

J.C. Fischer (1958) investigated the (-ing) suffix distinctive in children's speech in a New England community. J.J. Gumperz (1958, 1961) noted how certain phonological variables could reflect attitudes of an Indian caste system in Khalapur, a relatively small but socially stratified northern village in India. As well in (1966, 1967) he investigated dialect stratification in Khalapur and code switching in Hemnes, Norway. Levine and Crockett (1966) identified four phonological variables of Negro speech in Hillsboro, N.C.. Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1967), Fasold (1968) and Wolfram (1969) investigated the social stratification of phonological and grammatical variables in Detroit English. Each of these studies related sound changes with social interaction.

W. Labov (1963, 1966a, 1966b, 1968) and P. Trudgill (1971) isolated phonological variables reflecting language attitudes. The Labov (1963) study of Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts traced the shifting of the first elements in the diphthongs, /ay/ and /aw/. These varied through several occupational ethnic and geographical subgroupings of the population, as well as through three generations of native islanders. High centralization of the nuclei in /ay/ and /aw/ was closely related with a strong resistance by people on the island to summer visitors.

By correlating the complex linguistic patterns with parallel differences in social structure, it will be possible to isolate factors which bear directly upon the linguistic process (Labov, 1963:273).

In his study of the social stratification of English in New York City (1966a) Labov showed how speech within a community often dismissed as 'free variation' systematically correlated with social differences. He isolated five phonological variables in four contextual styles (careful speech, casual speech, reading passage and word lists) correlating them with the social stratification of the informants. The variables were (r) the presence or absence of final and pre-consonantal /r/ in words such as 'car' or 'card'; (eh) the height of the vowel in 'bad', etc.; (oh) the mid-back rounded vowel heard in 'caught', etc.; (th) and (dh) the initial consonants of 'thing' and 'then'. The latter two consonants did not show any relationship to the vowel system. They appear in the study as a pair of correlated variables but were not involved in any processes of structural change affecting the first three variables.

Labov's findings reveal that

for most Negro speakers, any features of speech associated with Northern regional dialects (such as (r-l) is considered good, cultured and educated usage, as opposed to Southern features which are considered uneducated and 'rough' (Labov, 1966a:497).

Variations of (th) and (dh) could appear as signals of a stigmatized speech variant, therefore they should be avoided. At some social levels (eh) appears as a prestige marker and at some levels (oh) was gaining importance.

Trudgill (1971) using sociolinguistic principles similar to those used in Labov's New York City (1966) study investigated speech forms of the urban area associated with Norwich, England. He interviewed sixty informants representing five social classes (lower working class to middle middle class), using four contextual styles (word lists, reading passage, formal speech and casual speech).



Apart from disclosing that the grammatical feature third person singular nonpast (s) co-varies with sociological features, Trudgill selected for intensive study the phonological variables (-ng), (t), (h), plus the vowels in 'bad, name, cart, tell, here, hair, ride, bird, top, boat, know'. He also included sets which were not always homophonous in East Anglia. These reflected stylistic variations, diachronic changes, relic forms, phonetic space and geographical factors.

Trudgill summarized his findings in four points: (i) variables subjected to class variation do not necessarily occur in stylistic variation which takes place only under certain specific conditions (see Trudgill, 1974:103), (ii) unusual patterns of class or sex differentiation are generally the result of diachronic change in progress, (iii) class and style account for the amount of distinction in phonetic space between some pairs of variables, (iv) Norwich speech variations are more satisfactorily handled through inherent variability than by explanations in terms of dialect mixture (Trudgill, 1974:132).

Social factors interrelating with sound changes often reflect positive and negative attitudes, e.g., reactions to a speech variety may be socially prestigious or non-prestigious. Of those researchers who identified sound changes and contextualized them as social features, few have ever commented on the theoretical nature of attitudes. Trudgill however was one who did, but not to define it. He classified attitudes as social not linguistic.

...Attitudes of this type are not linguistic... . They are social attitudes. Judgements which appear to be about language are in fact judgements based on social and cultural values, and have much more to do with the social structure of our community than with language (Trudgill, 1975:28).

This statement in itself expresses an attitude which passes over the concept and its function within the above context. So Trudgill did not attempt to define attitudes nor to make any theoretical statement about them; he simply classified them as non-linguistic.

### 3.3. Language attitude appears as a catalyst for a speech community...

Those who investigated language attitudes as reflecting a speech community also focused on description and analysis of sound changes. However they took a slightly different approach by disclosing how these changes distinguished one speech group from another geographically and socially. This sets the focus on ingroup/outgroup contrasts making attitudes more interesting from a language behaviour perspective. Apart from the sound change context investigations revealing unifying factors of a speech community were conducted by Ferguson (1960), Nader (1962), Gumperz (1964), Samarin (1966), Macaulay and Trevelyan (1973), the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (1975).

C.A. Ferguson and L. Nader sought to find where the "best" Arabic was spoken by eliciting attitude responses to specific questions. Ferguson discovered that

sedentary Arabs generally feel that their own dialect is the best, but on certain occasions or in certain contexts will maintain that Bedouin dialects are better (Ferguson, 1960:78-9).

Nader went a step further by finding out where the informants came from. A Damascus man visiting Beirut would defend his own dialect but in Damascus he would say Bedouin was better. The informant never suggested another dialect nor even indicated another town.

Such a response would be considered as being disloyal to one's dialect or town, whereas stating that Bedouin was best was not disloyal; it was expressing loyalty to a widespread cultural ideal - Bedouin speaks the purest Arabic (Nader, 1962:25).

Ingroup attitudes from speakers of Damascus Arabic were more positive than outgroup attitudes of Arabic spoken elsewhere, except when compared to the 'standard dialect', Bedouin. I will reveal similar attitudes responses in the forthcoming investigation of Newfoundland speakers' attitudes toward their own dialects and a 'regional standard'.

Gumperz (1964) investigated dialect stratification and code switching in two speech communities, Khalapur, India, and Hemnesberget, Norway. In Khalapur the local dialect was acceptable as a vehicle of speech only within the speech community. It had no status so people did not speak it in an urban context nor was it considered worthy of scholarly research. Hemnes residents indeed took a great deal of pride in their dialect.

Unlike its Khalapur equivalent...Hemnes residents... insist on their right to use the dialect, to show, as they put it 'that we are not ashamed of our origins' (Gumperz, 1964:165-6).

For each community social interaction was seen to interrelate with the dialects.

Attitudes as indicators of language prestige have acted as a unifying force to identify a speech community. The opposite of this may also occur. W.J. Samarin (1966) investigated a community's attitudes toward French, Sango and vernacular languages. Speakers using a prestige language were sometimes not aware of a particular word for an object or concept. They would reject words in the prestige language most like those in their own vernacular. The similarity of these words caused the speaker to think they were inferior in that context. Hence they used a word from another language or dialect. This resulted in some lexical variation in Sango and Samarin attributed this to prestige versus non-prestige values in that society. Heterogeneity, not homogeneity, resulted from this opposition. This was contrary to what was expected in such situations.

By saying that language-linked prestige is negatively ascribed, I mean that that form of Sango which is least localized is most acceptable (Samarin, 1966:198).

R.K.S. Macaulay and G.D. Trevelyan (1973) investigated Glaswegians to learn what attitudes they would express about their city, their fellow-citizens and the speech within their own community. The study revealed comments made by informants about their own community and comments made by people who saw it as a whole from the outside. From the ingroup it was said that "...when the

informants affirm the values of local accents they are thinking of regional identification..." (Macaulay and Trevelyan, 1973:137). Attitudes from people who viewed it from the outside said that

it is probably not a coincidence that a city which is seen as ugly and violent should be judged to have an accent that is ugly and rough (Macaulay and Trevelyan, 1973:2).

Such attitudes clearly express the distinctiveness of Glasgow as a speech community.

I will conclude this section with the Irish Government's (1975) study for the whole of the Republic of Ireland. This investigation involves two languages within the same community, English and Irish. Although the study appears to belong more to the context of 'second-language achievement' because it involves two languages, the focus is on a single language as an identity for a speech community. One of the aspects investigated was people's attitudes about the Irish language, especially how these attitudes were distributed throughout the population. Irish was seen as a symbol of ethnic and national identity.

The top-scoring items on this scale clearly express belief and feelings about Irish as a focus of ethnic or national identity (Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research, 1975:25).

Resulting from these investigations into 'sound change' and 'speech community' two features of a speech community are worth noting, stigmatization and identity. Labov (1966a, 1966b), Trudgill (1971), and Macaulay and Trevelyan (1973) proposed that if you recognize the same stigmatized speech in a number of people you tend to classify them as belonging to the same community. Yet more than one or two phonological variables are necessary to determine this stigmatism. Ferguson (1960), Nader (1962), Gumperz (1964), and the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (1975) proposed that it could signify identity. Native speakers within a speech community sense similarities and it is their recognition of these which brings out a linguistic identity. It is crucial for speakers

to be able to identify their speech as belonging to a single speech community. Both of these features emphasize the importance of ingroup/outgroup perspectives in language analysis.

The greater majority of the above researchers had little to say about attitude itself, which is not surprising since their focus was more empirical than theoretical. Ferguson and the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research however were among the exceptions. Ferguson (1972) said language attitudes were distinct from any other kinds and he defined them as "elicitable reactions on who speaks what, when, and how" (Cooper and Fishman, 1974:6). I have found no elaboration or discussion of this definition and I include it here simply because it attempts to define the concept. Ferguson was one of the few linguists that I found who did that. In the light of what Fishman and Cooper say about Ferguson this definition defines attitude in terms of its referent. The properties attributed to the concept are the same properties as used to describe it. The Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (1975) also defined attitude and in terms of their proposed referent. However, for them it was an 'umbrella concept' encompassing significantly different other concepts. But they thought that empirical studies should focus on only one dimension of it within the attitude-system. They defined attitude as

...a relatively enduring system of beliefs about, and associated feelings toward, an object or situation, which predisposes one to respond to it in some preferential manner (Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research, 1975:21).

Attitude objects assumed different contextual meanings and one had to respond to them within that context. Where Trudgill differs from these definitions is that he never attempted to define attitude but merely to classify it as non-linguistic. Even if this implied 'contextuality' his attempt to separate attitudes from language said very little about attitude intrinsically.



### **3.4. Language attitude appears as a catalyst for teachers' perception of students' ability...**

Teachers' attitudes toward their pupils in the classroom are frequently not as objective as they might appear. Stereotyped attitudes toward pupils have been significantly strong enough to interfere with that objectivity. Of the research conducted to investigate these attitudes we have Williams (1970a, 1973); Williams, Whitehead and Traupman (1971, 1972); Williams, Whitehead and Miller (1971, 1972); Williams and Naremore (1974). Others who showed some interest were Frender, Brown and Lambert (1970), Giles (1971), Naremore (1971), Lambert (1972) and Taylor (1973).

In these investigations F. Williams et al. through their teacher-subjects differentiated attitudes along two variable-dimensions. The scale variable considered attitudes toward pupils who were seen in terms of two relatively universal evaluative dimensions, confidence-eagerness and ethnicity-nonstandard. Next the subject variable considered attitudes toward pupils who were seen in terms of commonality in rating ethnic groupings. Teachers' reactions to speech samples determined these dimensions and they proved a valid instrument. Applying these techniques Williams (1970) used audio-taped samples of speech and factor analyzed the responses according to scale and variables to determine the dimensions, confidence-eagerness and ethnicity-nonstandardness. Williams, Whitehead and Trauman (1971, 1972) used videotapes in their investigation of ethnicity. Williams, Whitehead and Miller (1971, 1972), besides using videotapes obtained ratings by asking teachers to respond to an ethnic label and to give their past or anticipated experiences with such ethnic pupils.

General findings revealed that videotapes identifying the pupil's ethnicity did affect the ratings of his language by his teacher and in the direction of racial stereotyping expectations. Black teachers rated black pupils as less ethnic-nonstandard than did white teachers. At the same time black teachers rated white pupils as slightly more ethnic-nonstandard and less confident-eager than did



white teachers. Finally, white teachers rated Mexican-American children as more ethnic-nonstandard and slightly less confident-eager than did black teachers (Williams et al., 1972:275).

Freder, Brown and Lambert (1970) investigated attitudes as expressed in the relationship between speech characteristics and scholastic success. Lower social class pupils receiving better grades had a distinctive style from those with poorer grades. The authors concluded that

how a child presents himself through his speech...may very well influence teachers' opinions and evaluations of him (Freder et al., 1970:299).

Classified as correlational they viewed the results of this investigation as only suggestive.

O.L. Taylor (1973) investigated teachers' handling of language problems and found their attitudes varied according to the topics of non-standard and Black English. Therefore

...teachers do not appear to have a single, generic attitude toward dialects, but rather, differing attitudes depending upon the particular aspect of dialect being discussed (Taylor, 1973:197).

It might be interesting to compare these findings with parts of the present investigation since teachers as a social group make up part of the sample and are contrasted with students regarding language attitudes.

### **3.5. Language attitude appears as a catalyst for a reflection of interethnic attitudes...**

Research in this next context was most insightful for the present investigation because it provided me with a frame-of-reference for intergroup behaviour. As well reactions to language in interethnic situations are similar to reactions to dialects in interdialectal situations. Thus the reference points were very much the same. This resulted in proposing a seventh context in which

'language attitudes can appear as a catalyst for a reflection of interdialectal attitudes'. Lambert et al. (1960) provided this insight.

Spoken language is an identifying feature of members of a national or cultural group and any listener's attitude toward members of a particular group should generalize to the language they use. From this viewpoint, evaluational reactions to a spoken language should be similar to those prompted by interaction with individuals who are perceived as members of the group that use it, but because the use of the language is one aspect of behavior common to a variety of individuals, hearing the language is likely to arouse mainly generalized or stereotyped characteristic of the group (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum, 1960:44).

In essence speakers from one group reacting to the language used by another are also reacting to the people who use that language. They are reacting to the ethnic identity of the group. We could conclude from this that these reactions also identify the group as a speech community. Reviewing this research according to ethnic groups we have: (i) French-Canadian, Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960); Lambert (1964); and Lambert, Frankel and Tucker (1966); (ii) Jews, Anisfeld, Bogo and Lambert (1962); Lambert, Anisfeld and Yeni-Komshian (1965); (iii) Mexican, Barker (1947); Ryan (1973); Carranza and Ryan (1975); (iv) Blacks, Tucker and Lambert (1968). Although social psychologists dominate the research in this area all investigations take place within language contexts.

The French-Canadian investigations were the first to test the Lambert et al. proposal. Samples were drawn from English and French-Canadian students in Montreal. Lambert employing the match-guise technique was a principal investigator in all studies (see Chapter 4). Differences were found in the second investigation where the sample varied slightly, also in the third where the study explored beyond the general hypothesis. Results from the (1960) investigation revealed English speaking participants gave higher ratings to French guises than did French participants. It was unexpected for a cultural group to express more positive attitudes toward another cultural group than toward itself, see Tajfel (1974). I will be looking for this type of ingroup response in the upcoming

investigation but in relation to dialects. The Anisfeld and Lambert (1964) study varied the sample to use monocultural and bilingual children (French-English bilinguals), however the hypothesis was the same. Bilinguals expressing ones toward different groups showed more favorable attitudes toward English-Canadians than did monolinguals. Neither group expressed a significant attitudinal difference in its evaluation of the French-Canadian group.

The Jewish investigation by Anisfeld, Bogo and Lambert (1962) examined listeners' reactions to speakers changing from Standard English to English as spoken by Jewish immigrants in North America. They found results similar to those in the French-Canadian investigations. Non-Jews showed less favorable attitudes toward accented speech than they did to the Standard English style. The Jewish subjects were somewhat ambivalent in their attitudinal evaluations reacting positively to some and negatively to others. However these subjects did not adhere to social stereotyped attitudes toward their own culture as in the French-Canadian sample. They gave higher ratings on several traits to the accented Jewish guise.

Lambert, Anisfeld and Yeni-Komshian (1965) investigated a sample of Jewish and Arab adolescents in Tel-Aviv and Jaffa. They wanted to test the match-guise technique in Israel, a setting where language and dialect variations have important social and political implications. The Jewish and Arab subjects responded to the guises of each other's group in a mutually antagonistic manner, both samples evaluated their own cultural group as more favorable on all features.

The Mexican-American investigations looked at the attitudes of a bilingual minority in the process of acculturation, the gradual assimilation of a minority cultural group into a dominant one. G.C. Barker (1947) conducted the first of these investigations in Southern Arizona. He showed how the social status of a Mexican-American community was viewed by the ways "the group uses and reacts to English and Spanish or in brief in its linguistic behavior patterns" (Barker, 1947:198). In addition to their tendency to avoid Spanish in their

contacts with 'Anglos' many Tucson bilinguals showed a feeling of inferiority with respect to their 'Mexican accent' in speaking English.

A later investigation by M.A. Carranza and E.B. Ryan (1975) reported that "...the Mexican-American typically comes to view English as a necessity for survival" (Carranza and Ryan, 1975:83). However not only must the Mexican-American have positive attitudes toward the dominant language but he must at the same time reject his own language as 'inferior'. This leads to social repercussions because the Mexican-American "who loses his Spanish tongue to learn English is looked upon as being a 'vendido' (sell-out) to his own culture" (Carranza and Ryan, 1975: 84-5).

Lastly, G.R. Tucker and W.E. Lambert (1968) investigated Black (Negroes) dialects. They selected six American-English Negro dialect groups: (i) speakers of Network English (typical national newscasters); (ii) college-educated Southern White speakers; (iii) college-educated Southern Negro speakers; (iv) college-educated Negro speakers from Mississippi, attending Howard University in Washington, D.C.; (v) Southern Negro students, a Mississippi Peer group, speaking a dialect similar to students at the Negro college where the testing was conducted; and (vi) alumni living in New York City for some years. Speakers in groups 1 and 2 were white and those in 3, 4, 5 and 6 were Negro. Each group was evaluated for interethnic attitudes by three groups of college students: Northern White, Southern White, and Southern Black. All three groups expressed most favorable attitudes toward the Network speaker. Northern White and Southern Black speakers favored the educated Black Southern next, whereas the Southern White favored the educated Southern White. Both groups rated the Mississippi Peer group as least favorable while the Black group rated educated Southern White as least favorable (Tucker and Lambert, 1968:182-4).

Investigations of all four ethnic groups clearly established the existence and universality of interethnic attitudes. However the unexpected result was to have an ethnic group reflect negative attitudes toward itself in its own cultural



community, e.g., French-Canadian in Montreal. One might have expected the exact opposite of this situation, e.g., the Jewish and Arab samples respectively rated their own cultures as higher. Also the Tucker and Lambert (1968) study using a partly Black and partly White sample showed that people of the same cultural background usually have positive attitudes toward that culture. In contrast to the Montreal investigation one might have expected the Mexican-American sample to reflect negative attitudes because they were living in the community of another dominant culture.

### **3.6. Language attitude appears as a catalyst for a reflection of interdialectal attitudes.**

The research into interdialectal attitudes was conducted principally by Strongman and Woosley (1967), Cheyne, Jahoda and Veness (1968), Cheyne (1970) and Giles (1970, 1971a, 1971b, 1971c, 1972, 1973a, 1973b). More so than the others Giles also extended his research into theoretical discussions about accents, convergence and divergence (1971b, 1973a, 1979). By reviewing Giles within this seventh heading I am not suggesting that he has restricted his research only to this area. In fact from the mid-1970's onward Giles has focused more on ethnicity markers in speech and this would place most of his research within the interethnic attitude context. However Giles's interdialectal research has provided many insights in helping to create this context.

L. Strongman and J. Woosley researched stereotyped reactions to regional accents using London and Yorkshire speakers.

It was thought that if there were any differences in the assessments of the Yorkshire and London speakers, these would be based on the S's attitudes towards the particular group as identified by its accent (Strongman and Woosley, 1967:164).

Their findings showed that all subjects tended to hold similar stereotype views toward each accented group. They did not regard either accented group as more favorable.

W.M. Cheyne (1970) studied stereotypical reactions to speakers with Scottish and English regional accents. Scottish and English male speakers rated Scottish accented voices lower than English on several scales pertaining to status. However Scottish subjects also rated Scottish voices higher on several scales. For female speakers differences were smaller and occurred for fewer scales, especially for the English subjects.

In contrast to previous researchers in this context H. Giles provided a more comprehensive research design. It incorporated both the match-guise and the attitude-rating scales techniques providing vocal and conceptual stimuli for evaluation. Giles (1970a, 1970b, 1971a) might be reviewed as one extended study with three successive stages. The first two stages evaluated subjects' reactions to accents from contrasting British regional dialects and also to accents of speakers of some foreign languages. The third stage contrasted the two groups. For the former they proposed three evaluative dimensions: aesthetic, communicative and status. A generalized pattern of ranking accents across the three dimensions emerged for both groups, however there was a significant difference between them. The (1970a) study used 17-year-old sixth-formers, whereas the (1970b) study used 21-year-old college students. The latter rated accents significantly more favorable than did the sixth-formers. This difference resulted from the more diffused social environment surrounding the college students. Therefore it was thought that the social qualities of college life made the subjects less ethnocentric and hence more liberal toward the accents.

His (1971a) study hypothesized that

...the more ethnocentric an individual's orientation, the less favorable his evaluation of regional speech would be. Secondly,...the highly ethnocentric would react relatively more favorably towards...(RP) than the less ethnocentric, simply because of its superior social prestige... (Giles, 1971a:187).

The results indicated that the more ethnocentric the subjects the less favorably they rated regional accents.



A second group of studies by Giles (1971b, 1973a, 1973b) focuses on convergence, a process of modeling another person's speech, usually for prestige. Giles pointed out that there were three rewards for convergence:

(i) an increase in perceived status; (ii) an increase in perceived favorability of personality; and (iii) an increase in the perceived quality and persuasiveness of the content of the message (Giles, 1971b:714).

The opposite of convergence is divergence where a person modifies his speech away from another speaker. These views are very much in keeping with Tajfel (1970) and his theory of intergroup relations (see Chapter 1).

In his (1971b) study Giles considered only 'upward convergence' and found subjects noticed greater convergence toward the RP interviewer than toward the regional accented interviewer. The (1973a) study varied on this to see if a more dominant person would produce a lower magnitude of accent convergence than a more submissive person on the basis of interactive style. Secondly, Giles was looking for changes at other linguistic levels, such as in lexical and grammatical usage.

More specifically, it has been shown that a speaker in the presence of a high status interlocutor (defined in terms of social and accent prestige standardizes both his pronunciation patterns and his lexical-grammatical usage (Giles, 1973a:101)

The Giles (1973a) study tested the 'third reward' feature of convergence, an increase in persuasiveness. Participants listened to a message in RP, South Wales English, and dialects of Somerset and Birmingham. Although the quality of a particular argument was more favorably received in RP, the nonstandard speaker was seen as more persuasive.

Giles (1971c, 1972) evaluated accented speech with varying samples: RP, South Wales English and the dialects of Somerset. His first study focused on regional dialect, a significant cue in assessing personality through voices (Lambert, 1967). The prestigious RP was stereotyped for traits of competence independent of regional membership. Participants stereotyped regional accents for personal

integrity and social attractiveness. His second study varied the sample to contrast high ethnocentric with low ethnocentric subjects. The high group rated RP higher for competence based on personality traits than did the low group. The low ethnocentric sample rated all voices more favorably for social attractiveness than did the high ethnocentric subjects.

### 3.7. Attitudes: a conclusion and a definition

My review of attitude and its definitions **has** taken us from the earlier major theoretical discussions and definitions of attitudes as hypothetical constructs to the linguists' identification of attitudes as social markers to explain certain language phenomena. The first major theorists attributed to attitude "...individual consciousness which determines...activity..." (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918). Thus the concept was orientated to 'individual' rather than 'group' awareness although 'group attitudinal response' does exist. Secondly, 'activity' suggested a response either mentally conceived or physically demonstrated. In a later definition attitude became "...socially significant,..." (Allport, 1924) finding meaning within a social group for its structuring and survival. Next it was a "...state of readiness ..." (Allport, 1924; Allport, 1935; Doob, 1947; Chein, 1947; and Campbell, 1947 and 1963). Then it became "...response..." (Bain, 1928; Bernard, 1931; DeFleur and Westie, 1963). From there, attitude was "...a disposition to evaluate..." (Chein, 1948). Finally, it was seen to be made up from 'components' (Sherif and Cantril, 1945 and 1946; Krech and Crutchfield, 1948; Lambert and Lambert, 1964; Newcomb, Turner and Converse, 1964; and Rokeach, 1968) which included the feature of evaluation.

For the linguist these definitions were too theoretical, at the level of a hypothetical construct, far beyond the analysis and description of linguistic forms occupying their interest. Only when linguistic forms at every level and linguistic behavior of many types were identified as markers of personal and social characteristics was there a need to examine the broader category. At this point linguists had identified attitude only contextually as a language attitude. Within

this context they were recognized and acknowledged as having meaning. But maybe it is as Trudgill (1975) suggested language attitudes are still social features and have more to do with the social structure of a community than with its language. Whatever the reason linguists seldom defined attitude other than to suggest its meaning was found within the context investigated, as we have seen identified by Cooper and Fishman (1974). Hence social psychologists and linguists appear to have arrived at attitudes from two entirely different directions, the former through theorizing and conceptualizing and the latter through description and analysis in various language contexts.

For the present investigation I define attitude as 'an overt response involving individual consciousness, activity, social significance and evaluation and qualified by its referent, the context in which it is investigated. Using the feature 'referent' to define attitude is not strictly a linguistic approach. Scott, a social psychologist, defined attitude: "...as a hypothetical construct, attitude is defined by properties assigned to it in theoretical formulation" (Scott, 1969:204). Thus the properties attributed to the concept are the same properties used to describe it. Hence if attitude is given the property of 'response' as opposed to 'readiness to respond' a tendency arises to treat the property in categorical terms.

According to such categories definitions, if the motivational component (for instance) were absent, the psychological event would not be called an attitude (Scott, 1969:204-5).

As stated the focus for this investigation is language attitudes as expressed through ingroup/outgroup perspectives toward three Newfoundland dialects. I place emphasis on contrasting 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' perspectives and also on the 'ingroup's' perceptions as they define their own speech community. As the hypothesis says: 'ingroup behaviour results in attitudes being more positive toward one's own dialect than toward the dialects spoken by outgroups. Where such attitude behaviour does not create this ingroup/outgroup contrast, the degree of homogeneity operating among the dialect speakers identifies a single

speech community.' For this investigation, I will define attitude as a 'sustained view' expressed as an event response and qualified by its referent. The referent here will be the three Newfoundland dialects: the Northern Shoreline, the Southern Shoreline and the St. John's dialects. Attitude therefore is the perception respondents have of each others' dialects.

## Chapter 4

# MEASURING ATTITUDES

### 4.1. Introduction

While earlier theorists sought to define attitude investigators eliciting attitudes were developing and testing techniques to measure them. In this chapter I will review first the scales designed by Thurstone, Likert and Guttman to measure attitudes. Next I will present two techniques by Lambert et al. and Osgood et al. specifically suited to measuring language attitudes, although these scales were not originally designed for that purpose. Third, I will propose a measuring scale based on these earlier techniques and adapted for my own questionnaire. To conclude this chapter I will present in detail the structure of the four-part questionnaire designed for this investigation. Part I sought demographic information, Part II seeks attitude responses to five underlying dimensions, Parts III and IV elicit attitudes to samples of the spoken and written language.

The major proposals for measuring attitudes are based on three types of scales. We have differential scales as exemplified by Thurstone (1929, 1931), Thurstone and Chave (1929) in their method of equal-appearing intervals and methods of paired comparisons; Saffir (1937) and Edwards (1952) in their method of successive-intervals; Garner and Haka (1951) in their discriminability scale, and Attneave (1949) with his method of graded dichotomies. Secondly there are summated scales as exemplified by Likert (1932). Last we have the cumulative scales of Guttman (1944) in his scalogram technique. The differential scales from Saffir to Attneave are essentially those of paired comparison.



Similarities occur in these scales in that statements deal with an attitude object to which respondents react positively or negatively. Differences occur because differential scales are interval scales. We know the distances on the scales but we do not know their rankings. As well in specifying the dimension measured respondents disagree with the positions on either side of the one selected. Summated scales are ordinal and they comment on the order of the points on the scale but they do not note the distances between them. Respondents therefore indicate their positive or negative attitudes toward each statement. The sum reflects the respondent's attitude. Cumulative scales are also ordinal but the respondents react to a particular attitude object at some point on the continuum. Hence they will respond similarly to all statements on one side of the point or the other. These scales or variations of them are found in most techniques measuring attitudes.

#### **4.2. Measuring attitudes: Thurstone, Likert and Guttman**

L.L. Thurstone's interest in attitude scales resulted from his efforts to provide "a rationale for psychological measurement" (Triandis, 1971:38). He used the differential scales in his method of 'Equal-Appearing Intervals' to determine numerically whether a statement expressed a positive or negative attitude on a given issue. This direct method of eliciting attitudes is called a 'non-disguised-structure' method (see Campbell, 1950). Contrasting with this method is the 'non-disguised-non-structured' technique or free response used in interview and questionnaire approaches. The Thurstone method usually has high reliability but its validity depends entirely on the measured attitude and the investigator's skill in formulating the attitude statement.

R. Likert (1932) in his method of 'Summated Ratings' accepted the Thurstone scaling procedures and improved them. He did away with judges' sorting a multitude of attitude statements. His method operates by summing up the responses of his subjects to any number of items. Each response receives a value on a scale of from 1 to 5, strongly agree to strongly disagree. Equality of



units is not ensured although we assume they measure part of the same continuum. Responses from each quarter end of the ranked scale are separated to constitute two separate factors, strongly agree and strongly disagree. These combine to form a 'pure' selection, void of subjects doubting where they stood in judging the attitude object.

One of the earliest scales used in measuring attitudes, the E.S. Bogardus social-distance scale (Bogardus, 1925, 1928, 1933), was an attempt to use cumulative scales. However not until L. Guttman (1944, 1950) proposed his 'Scalogram Analysis' did it become popular. The scale checks the unidimensionality of a set of statements by combining their value into a composite meaning. Guttman argued if meaningful we must consider measurement along only one dimension. This opened two aspects, the determination of unidimensionality and the determination of a fixed point of reference along such a single dimension. Furthermore Guttman "dispenses with the concept of a latent or underlying continuum to which the responses to a particular term is to be related" (Stouffer et al., 1950:5).

Thurstone, Likert and Guttman in applying their scales achieved a task similarly common. They eliminated inappropriate or ineffective attitude statements. Yet the criteria for each method of elimination differed. Thurstone's Equal Appearing Intervals eliminated statements judged consistently but ambiguously, Likert's Summated Ratings eliminated statements failing to discriminate between favorable and unfavorable individuals, Guttman's Scalogram Analysis discarded statements not falling on an unidimensional continuum. Together they established the basic principle for measuring attitudes. More recent methods improved and varied these, especially with the aid of computer technology.

Since the purpose of this review is to provide a scale for the present investigation I will not elaborate on the less popular techniques. In concluding therefore, I will note only a few of these. A.L. Edwards and C. Kilpatrick (1948)

outlined the 'Scale Discrimination Technique', an unacceptable synthesis of the Thurstone, Likert and Guttman procedures. C.H. Coombs (1950, 1953) proposed the 'Unfolding Technique', a method of discovering and isolating a latent attitude underlying the preferences of a group of individuals. T.J. Banta (1961) proposed the 'Unfolded Partial Rank Order or UPRO' to compare scales developed by this procedure with standard Thurstone and Likert-type scales. P.F. Lazarsfeld's (1950, 1954, 1959) 'Latent Structure Analysis' focuses on attitude structure and measurement as part of the broader issue of relations between concept formation and empirical research in the behavioural sciences. Most of these latter scales only vary on the Thurstone, Likert, Guttman-type scales.

#### **4.3. Measuring language attitudes**

W.E. Lambert et. al. (1960, 1966, 1968) promoted the 'Match-Guise' technique in their research on the social significance of language varieties. Strongman and Woolsey (1967), Tucker et al. (1968), Webster and Kramer (1968), Giles (1971, 1972, 1973; 1979), Giles et al. (1975, 1976), and Tucker et al. (1971, 1974) made this technique popular by covering many aspects of language codes, dialects and varieties in a broad spectrum of language groups. The technique measures the biased stereotyped views of people, however classified, toward others in contrasting groups. Subjects evaluate personality traits of previously recorded speakers reading translated versions of the same text in two languages or dialects. Subjects were unaware of the guise and believed that the languages or dialects spoken were from different speakers. The underlying principle was if any significant uniformity occurred in reactions by judging people these reactions would represent the stereotyped impressions of the particular group toward the speaker of the language or dialect spoken. Lambert says the technique

appears to reveal judges' more private reactions to the contrasting group than direct questionnaires do, but much more research is needed to adequately assess its power in this regard (Lambert, 1967:94).

An instrument not originally intended for measuring attitudes is the

C. Osgood et al. (1955, 1957) Semantic Differential Technique. Designed to measure the meaning of an object to an individual its use as an attitude scale represents a special application of the technique. Using differential scales the method was intended more for measuring scales. As a by-product of their research in experimental semantics Osgood et al. found that the multidimensional aspect of meaning was missing and that all the scales were evaluative. Since they defined attitudinal as a significant dimension of meaning this eventually gave them a 'rationale' for measuring attitude.

In terms of the operation of measurement with the semantic differential, we have defined the meaning of a concept as its allocation to a point in the multidimensional semantic space. We then define attitude toward a concept as the projection of this point onto the evaluative dimension of that space. Obviously every point in semantic space has an evaluative component and therefore, every concept must involve an attitudinal component as part of its total meaning (Osgood et al., 1957:227).

Testing the technique across different languages Osgood et al. found two other dimensions besides the evaluative one, potency and activity. They measured these factors across concepts using bipolar adjectives with high factor loadings on the dimensional scale. These loadings were negligible on the other factors. To index attitudes the evaluative scale requires high factor loadings. They achieved this through bi-polar adjectives: good-bad, positive-negative, and acceptable-non-acceptable, placed at the extremes of a seven point Likert-type scale. For consistency this scale never varies from its seven points. At one end '1' indicates a positive value, '4' indexes neutrality and '7' signifies a negative value. The intensity along the scale varies from 'extremely', to 'quite', to 'slightly', moving toward the neutral point.

Beyond measuring intensity the Semantic Differential scale also measures directionality, the general trend of the attitude responses. Determining this feature involves the sum of the score over all of the evaluative scales. The number of these scales can vary, but a varied number of scales can measure the

respondents' tendency toward an attitudes object. Finally the index of neutrality is the point of decision making, here respondents mark their indicators either to the left or to the right of this position. An indicator at point '4', neutrality,

indicates a response of least intensity which will not be considered here.

#### 4.4. The measuring scale for this investigation

In selecting an instrument to measure attitudes I aimed to test a hypothesis of causal relationships between variables. People behave in certain ways because of the perceptions they have about an attitude object. To achieve this I formulated questions to reduce bias, to increase reliability and to permit inferences about causality. Structured scales were selected over other possible types, e.g., open ended questions because the latter restricts respondents' accepting or rejecting statements relevant to the attitude object. Based on the responses to these structured scales respondents receive scores interpreted in view of the attitude object. Such scales have many advantages and two of them are important here. To avoid errors of interpretation structured scales are almost totally uncontaminated by investigator's views. Secondly, they allow for an orderly analysis of data. With such scales I can analyze responses singularly for different geographical or social groups, or I can consider each individual's total score as it results from the combination of responses to a number of attitude questions. For the present investigation I adapted a 'Likert-cum-Osgood' type scale.

Within this scale I proposed three essential properties for measuring attitudes: (i) the relevance of the scale, (ii) the reliability of the scale, (iii) the validity of the scale. As well, when respondents reply to attitude scales they make their decision at some point along a continuum or an ordered series of categories. These have assigned numerical values and the value of these responses is called an item score. The sum of these scores represents the person's attitude toward the particular variable or dimension being investigated. The attitude scale creates an isomorphism between the assigned number and the person's attitude.



Resulting from this I propose six more features for my attitude scale: (iv) equality of units, (v) intensity and directionality, (vi) index of neutrality, (vii) unidimensionality, (viii) evaluative dimension, and (ix) spatial rankings. These features cover all aspects of the scale design.

The relevance of an attitude scale means knowing exactly what is measured. Hence the concept and the focus on the desired feature must be indicated. Relevance includes more than stating the attitude object. It also identifies the dimensions of possible inferred features in the attitude object, allowing for subjectivity or objectivity of the attitude. Based on the data of the scales we might want to infer the presence of an underlying characteristic in the attitude statement describing cases at the conceptual level.

Validity and reliability are complex but important properties in any research. Reliability has caused a lot of controversy both as a term and as a concept. Several concepts and procedures appear to have been gathered under this one heading. The concept

arose in the context of tests of ability or achievement at a time when these qualities were assumed to be relatively fixed characteristics (Selltiz et al., 1976:182).

However researchers continued to extend the term to include instruments for measuring stable features, e.g., attitudes. Generally defined reliability is the extent to which scales give consistent results. Validity is the extent to which a measuring scale achieves its function. Sometimes it is seen as the 'true' position of the person or object in the characteristic being measured.

Equality of units means the continuum of an attitude scale. The difference between any two points is equal to the difference of any other two points. Such equality is characteristic of a ratio scale but it is not necessary for an ordinal scale. The continuum concept clearly accounts for the features of intensity and directionality. For intensity three different degrees of spatial rankings exist, 'extremely', 'quite' and 'slightly'. All of these operate in both positive and

negative directions. However such binary scales are not especially suited to a dimension where subjects are frequently uncertain about their responses to an attitude object. Indeed such factors are usually taken into consideration when making a subjective reaction toward an object, person or issue. The feature of intensity allows the subject at least several degrees of decision making. It assures the researcher that the subject's response reflects more accurately his true position. Finally, directionality is determined not on the basis of one scale but rather over an average of a series of scales. In brief both features allow for the subject to have some scope when making his response.

Briefly I will summarize the last four features together. First the aspect of neutrality indicated by position '4' on the scale "is one of least intensity in the terms of attitude" (Osgood et al., 1957:192). This feature recognizes as part of the feature of intensity the possibility of uncertainty in an attitudinal response. It removes immediate pressure from the subject to make a decision that is not a true reflection of the attitude held. This adds further assurance to the credibility of the subject's other responses. D. Krech and R.S. Crutchfield (1948) saw attitudes as either one or the other. They argued that a response to any neutral position is not an attitude. This seemed like a reasonable argument to me, so I accepted this point of neutrality for the proposed attitude scale. Second, unidimensionality measures a single attitude. As a respondent's score reflects his position on the underlying attitude continuum, it ranges from some degree of positiveness to some degree of negativeness. Hence on such an attitude scale we can express our attitude over a latitude or range rather than as a point on a judgement scale. Third, since the affective (evaluative) component of attitude is my primary concern I wanted to employ a method which allowed for special consideration in measuring that component. The Osgood Semantic Differential technique through its many applications across languages has proven high factor loadings on the evaluative scale. Fourth, the spatial model lends itself easily to statistical analysis and therefore to computers for ordering and analyzing raw data. The Likert-cum-Osgood attitude scale used in this investigation incorporates all nine of these features. An example of this scale is as follows:



$$i. \quad + \quad \frac{1}{1} \quad \frac{2}{2} \quad \frac{3}{3} \quad \frac{4}{4} \quad \frac{5}{5} \quad \frac{6}{6} \quad \frac{7}{7} \quad -$$

Part II of the questionnaire also involves twelve questions of the multiple-choice type. These sought information about ingroup and outgroup identities in relation to other social groups. The structuring of the questions and the range of social groups considered made the continuum scale appear unsuitable in these questions. Later when I was analyzing the data a format was found which could have been used to elicit these same responses on a graded scale. I did not group these questions together but scattered them throughout the questionnaire at specific points to elicit data under the appropriate dimension. A secondary feature of this type question was to break the monotony of scale repetition and therefore to do away with any tendency to give the same response to a large number of scales.

#### 4.5. Questionnaire structure

A four-part questionnaire was constructed especially for the present investigation. Part I consisted of twenty questions seeking demographic information. Part II included fifty-four questions subgrouped as: (i) Qs. 21-27 geographical dialects, (ii) Qs. 28-34 'acceptable Newfoundland English', (iii) Qs. 35-44 'educated Newfoundland English', (iv) Qs. 45-65 a self-analysis of the respondent's own speech, (v) Qs. 66-70 socio-occupational dialects. Part III involved fifteen written samples, five from each dialect of the spoken dialects and Part IV used fifteen written samples, five from each dialect reflecting features of these dialects. The complete questionnaire as presented to the respondent may be found in appendix B. Respondents were asked to answer a total of one hundred and four questions.

Each group of questions in the above structure focused on a particular dimension for analysis. In Part II of the questionnaire: Qs. 21-27 sought interdialectal attitudes among speakers of the St. John's, Southern Shoreline and



Northern Shoreline dialects; Qs. 28-34 elicited attitudes to the quality of the dialects as being 'acceptable' or not; Qs. 35-44 elicited attitudes to the quality of the dialects as being 'educated' or not; Qs. 45-65 focused on the linguistic security of the respondents in terms of their dialects; Qs. 66-70 sought inter-sociolect attitudes on a number of social occupations. Part III elicited attitudes to the spoken language and Part IV sought attitudes to the written language. A total of seven dimensions were explored.

#### **4.5.1 Part I: demographic questions**

Because I analyzed the responses to the questionnaire as three separate groups I will discuss the structure of the questionnaire similarly. The demographic part of the questionnaire asks twenty questions subdivided to elicit the following information:

- a) Questions (hereafter, Q or Qs) 1 and 10 enquire about respondents' sex and age, respectively.
- b) Qs. 2 to 6 enquire about the respondents' place and length of habitation.
- c) Qs. 7, 8, 9, 12 and 18 enquire about the respondents' extended family background.
- d) Qs. 14 to 17 enquire about the respondents' educational background.
- e) Qs. 11, 13, 19, and 20 enquire about respondents' socio-economic background.

Responses to Qs. 8, 12, 13, 17 and 18, proved unnecessary in the analysis. Qs. 19 and 20 were too personal because they asked about financial earnings. As a result I discarded all responses to these questions.

#### **4.5.2 Part II: perceptual questions**

This part of the questionnaire sought to cover five areas:

- a) Qs. 21-7 geographical dialects
- b) Qs. 28-34 'acceptable Newfoundland English'
- c) Qs. 35-44 'educated Newfoundland English'
- d) Qs. 45-65 a self-analysis of the respondents'  
own speaking habits
- e) Qs. 66-70 social dialects

If indeed I did elicit attitudes exploring these five dimensions factor analysis would confirm it. This confirmation will be very important in the analysis and discussion of the data. The attitudes elicited were used to test the following hypothesis, 'ingroup behaviour results in attitudes being more positive toward one's own dialect than toward the dialects spoken by outgroups. Where such attitude behaviour does not create this ingroup/outgroup contrast, the degree of homogeneity operating among the dialect speakers identifies a single speech community'.

#### **4.5.3. Parts III and IV: written and spoken texts**

Questions in these sections sought to elicit evaluative responses toward 'written samples' of written and spoken language from each of the three dialect regions. I asked respondents therefore to respond to fifteen written samples of their language chosen from written passages by respondents from each of the three dialect areas. Similarly respondents expressed their attitudes toward fifteen samples of their spoken language recorded from a number of respondents speaking the different dialects. Qs. 1 to 5 in each group were samples of the Northern Shoreline dialect as written and spoken by respondents in Pouch Cove, Qs. 6 to 10 were samples of the Southern Shoreline dialect as spoken and written by respondents in Bay Bulls, and Qs. 11 to 15 were samples of the St. John's dialect as stated. No effort was made to isolate particular syntactic features in the samples chosen. However in a pretest it was found that these samples were considered as 'genuine' examples as might be heard or seen written by people in these dialect areas.

In this investigation the questionnaire is the only source of data supporting

or rejecting the hypothesis. Besides the twelve multiple-choice type questions all other responses were recorded on the Likert-cum-Osgood type scale as presented. Initially I collected spoken data through tape recordings and from these I selected samples for Part IV of the questionnaire. However the conditions for having the respondents listen to these recordings proved problematic. Because the research was carried out in the field conditions were seldom suitable to have respondents react to recorded speech. Therefore I discarded this approach and adapted the spoken data elicited to Part III of the questionnaire.

## Chapter 5

# DATA AREA AND SAMPLE

### 5.1. Newfoundland: its setting

With the remnants of English, Scottish and Irish dialects in the speech and strong cultural ties to these countries, Newfoundland might have appeared to be more a part of Western Europe than the most easterly part of North America. Today as Canada's newest province we are quickly changing identities. Yet the linguistic similarities with these 'Mother' countries have resulted more from a long obsession with insularity than with any special social feature. Geographically the island juts out into the North Atlantic approximately 14.4 kilometers off the south-east coast of the Canadian mainland (see appendix C). Its location and the use of Newfoundland Standard Time, one half hour ahead of the nearest mainland, have made the island and its people appear suspended in time and space. Now only a short time after Confederation these barriers are rapidly diminishing. Improved communication and transportation make for easier access to other Canadian and North American cities. Improved educational facilities and programs are giving students greater opportunities to travel thus breaking down the insularity. Cable television is bringing continuous mainland Canadian and American programming into the homes even in the remotest areas of the province. These influences are making Newfoundlanders more aware of their Canadian identity as well as making them conscious of the levelling of their own heritage and dialects.

Population density and growth are important factors for dialect survival. Although Newfoundland has never had a large populous nor had areas of great



density dialects have survived. Census Canada (1980) recorded the island's residents at 536,363 over a land mass of 106,197.13 square kilometers, however most of these are scattered along the island's 17,540 kilometer coastline. These figures indicate a sparse population for such a large land area. The Avalon Peninsula (see appendix D) on the east coast of the island is the most densely populated. One reason is that it takes in the capital city St. John's. Such a large land mass with its few people creates an ideal environment for preserving dialects. At the same time the smallest changes and influences will have far-reaching effects because the density is not large enough to buffer them.

Coastal living established by the fishery has meant that many people were isolated. This also has encouraged and strengthened dialect variety. The

...isolation of small communities for many generations, have fostered the independent development of those features of local speech which make it strikingly different from that of its neighboring English communities; and account for the as yet uncharted variety of the local dialects themselves (Story, 1957:1).

Such scattering of residents has caused difficulties in providing adequate social services. Because of this the Newfoundland Government between 1963-7 urged people to centralize. They moved people from their smaller settlements especially from the many small islands within the various bays to larger and better serviced communities. This threw chaos into the "...yet uncharted variety of the local dialects..." (Story, 1957:3). Not only were dialect boundaries destroyed but social boundaries also were crossed and dialects began to converge.

## **5.2. Dialect communities**

I elicited attitude responses from residents in three communities. The first, St. John's, is a small urban center and capital of the province. The next, Pouch Cove, is a rural commuter community which is just north of St. John's. Sixty percent of its work force and all of its secondary school students commute daily to St. John's for these needs. The third community, Bay Bulls, is a rural non-

commuter community which is located south of St. John's. Twenty-five percent of its workers and only post-secondary students commute to St. John's for these needs. Each community belongs to a different isoglossed region, the St. John's dialect, Pouch Cove for the Northern Shoreline dialect and Bay Bulls for the Southern Shoreline dialect (see appendix E).

### **5.2.1. geography and population**

All three data communities are located on the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland which forms the eastern coastline and faces the North Atlantic ocean. The urban center St. John's is found on the north-eastern shore and covers a land area of twenty-five square kilometers. Pouch Cove [puč kov] is situated nineteen kilometers to the north of St. John's and has as boundaries merging brooks flowing from its northwest and northeast ponds to the sea at the north end of the community. Its southern boundary is a hill locally known as 'The Pinch'. Pouch Cove covers a land area of approximately twenty-four square kilometers. Bay Bulls lies twenty-nine kilometers south of St. John's around the head of a long curving inlet from the sea. Because this rural community is not incorporated official figures for its size are not available. However it covers approximately an area of twenty square kilometers.

St. John's residents number 83,770 (Census Canada, 1980), a decrease of twenty-nine percent from the 1971 Census and a further decrease of nine percent from the 1976 Census. This density change was due to a move from the inner city to new suburbs beyond the St. John's boundaries. Such changes are common in Canadian cities. Because families have strong feelings about owning their own land and dwelling they keep creating new suburbs outside the city limits. Hence city boundaries are constantly under review and expanding. The small rural community Pouch Cove has 1,543 residents which is a four percent increase since the 1971 Census. Bay Bulls on the other hand a similarly small rural community has 1,115 inhabitants and this is a five percent increase since the 1971 Census.

### 5.2.2. economy and income

Population growth usually indicates an increase of employment and economic well-being. Just as economic opportunities favor growth so does the lack of these cause a decline or static population. Three factors account for such growth the rate of in-migration to a city for economic reasons, the natural rate of population that is, increase of births over deaths, and the annexation of peripheral towns. While the third factor has not been particularly applicable in my data area the other two have made some contributions. Where the St. John's populous has decreased since the 1971 Census it has increased for the greater Metropolitan area. Such in-migration due to potential employment opportunities does not exist in the other data communities. Since they are within the metropolitan area these people can reside in their respective communities and avail of employment in St. John's a short distance away. This has held the number of residents within their communities fairly constant.

St. John's has no major industry, nevertheless manufacturing plants and secondary industries still provide the bases for a strong and powerful economy. As the provincial capital, St. John's, also serves as the center for both Provincial and Federal Government activities. These Public Services draw people into the area on both a permanent and a part-time basis. As well the city functions as the major trade service center for the Avalon Peninsula and in many cases for other parts of Newfoundland. The magnitude of this sector of the economy is created by the approximately 220,000 people residing within eighty kilometers of the city core. Finally, the designation of St. John's as a primary growth center by the Department of Regional and Economic Expansion, the creation of new industrial parks, and the year-round ice-free harbour combine to enhance the growth of manufacturing and other related industries.

Today St. John's faces a changing economic climate. Her land-locked harbour and port facilities continue to provide service for the year-round fishing fleets on Newfoundland's Grand Banks. Ships from many nations stop for supplies

or repairs, others seek refuge from North Atlantic storms. In addition the discovery of off-shore oil and its employment potential have created much economic speculation and industrial activity bringing many new people into the community.

The principal economy of Bay Bulls (-Baie de Bois -Baie Boullas meaning small round stones) centers on the cod fishery as it has for many centuries. In-shore fishermen sell their catches to a local merchant who operates the fish-processing plant or to concerns in St. John's. Those not involved in the fishery commute to St. John's or to other communities along the Southern Shore for employment. Still others work in the mercantile trade or in providing public services within their own community. This settlement is not a township, therefore it comes under the authority of the Department of Municipal Affairs in St. John's. As well other residents in Bay Bulls have been able to find employment within their general rural area.

Pouch Cove also a fishing community of long heritage has according to the Fisherman's Union the best and most productive fishing grounds among the Province's in-shore resources. Because of its lack of adequate landing facilities fishermen land their catches in other communities or at fish plants in St. John's. Hence fishermen have always had frequent contact with people outside of their community. Those not employed in the fishery commute to St. John's to work in government offices or in the retail trade. Unlike Bay Bulls, as a township Pouch Cove has a council and mayor to govern its affairs.

### **5.2.3. ethnic identity**

Most native residents of the data communities trace their origins to English, Scottish or Irish settlers who came to Newfoundland during the past four hundred years. Poor economic conditions in the 'Mother' countries during the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries led waves of immigrants to North America. Of the total population within this province ninety-five percent



(Census, 1976) are native speakers of the English language in one dialect or another. The remaining three percent includes several other languages. **Ninety-five** percent of the Bay Bulls' residents descended from Irish Roman Catholics and five percent from English Anglicans (Census, 1976). Pouch Cove inhabitants today are primarily of English heritage with a significant trace of Irish background. The latter arrived first, the English came later. Because the Irish Catholics had no resident priest within their community until the late 1800's many of the Catholic residents availed of the religious services offered by missionaries from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (The Church of England). Children were baptized and many residents became members of that Church. Today in Pouch Cove Irish surnames do not necessarily reflect the religious identity of the original ethnic group as it does in many other Newfoundland rural communities.

### **5.3. Sample of respondents**

The sample was screened for residency requirements to guarantee that only native speakers were selected. By native I mean not only native born but also continuous native residency. I excluded all non-native and non-continuous native speakers to gain a homogeneity among the sample. Those who have been absent for a time from their native speech communities and those who are speakers of non-Newfoundland dialects may bias their attitudes because they were members of other speech communities. If respondents' parents were non-natives I also excluded them because of possible parental influences. To achieve homogeneity in my sample therefore respondents had to be native Newfoundlanders and at least second generation native speakers. As well respondents must not have lived outside of their respective communities St. John's, Bay Bulls or Pouch Cove for a continuous period of more than one year within the past eight years. Not only did all respondents fulfill these requirements but they proved more acceptable than the guidelines set forth. ~~Over~~**ninety** percent of the respondents had never lived outside of their respective communities.

In addition the sample represented three dialectal regions: the Northern



Shoreline, the Southern Shoreline and the St. John's dialects, and six social groups: educational administrators, teachers, parents, students, employers and employees. The communities chosen for contrast differed from one another on several social features while remaining typically rural Newfoundland communities. The six groups were chosen for possible contrast to show attitudes based on ingroup identity. Educational administrators formulate language standards, teachers enforce these standards through their educational programs, students receive their instruction and reflect the effectiveness of such programs, parents of the same students help to enforce the standards, employers judge the effectiveness of language skills for the labor market, and employees reflect the language skills achieved for the labor market. Altogether the sample shows a well-structured cross-section of people within the investigated communities.

### **5.3.1. a sample of educational administrators**

I used a multi-stage sampling technique in selecting the sample (Yoemans, 1976). The complexity of sampling three geographical communities each represented by six social groups required such a technique. Simple random sampling was extremely cumbersome and difficult to achieve. In selecting educational administrators I listed all potential participants within the investigative area. Next I categorized them according to those implementing policies at the government level, members of the Department of Education and administrators in post-secondary level institutions. Then I restricted the sample to those fulfilling the residency requirements. Finally I selected by random sample two people for each group in each geographical community when and where this was possible.

An advantage of this method is that fieldwork becomes restricted to a limited number of institutions. The disadvantage is that the sampling error is greater than for the simple random sampling method. The latter will inevitably cause variations in different groups evolving from the same environment and the same general background characteristics. Table 5-1 below shows the number of

administrators selected for each category and the size of its sample. Separate columns show the distribution for geographical communities. In this category administrators chosen for the urban center also serve the other data communities. All three communities come within the same area for educational administrative purposes. I subdivided each community column to indicate 'T' for the total number of administrators and 'S' for size of sample. '0' means the community has no respondents in that social group. This occurs in several places throughout the sampling process. The system described applies to all tables presented in this chapter.

**Table 5-1:** Sample of educational administrators

Educational Administrators:	St. John's		Pouch Cove		Bay Bulls	
	T	S	T	S	T	S
Education Dept.	43	2	0	0	0	0
Post-Secondary						
University	37	2	0	0	0	0
Trades	16	2	0	0	0	0
Fisheries	16	2	0	0	0	0
Secondary						
RC Board	42	2	0	0	2	1
AC Board	32	2	0	0	0	0
Totals	186	12	0	0	2	1

### 5.3.2. a sample of teachers, students and parents

Multi-stage sampling proved very efficient for selecting the parent, teacher and student samples. The latter two were directly associated with educational institutions. Parents because they were restricted to those with children attending these academic institutions were indirectly associated. Therefore I sampled all three groups by first sampling the educational institutions and by subdividing

them into post-secondary and secondary. Because the phrase 'educational institution' is generic I restricted the sample to those educational institutions whose students would have no problems in expressing their position toward an attitude object. As well the designed questionnaire tended to pose difficulties for students below the junior high school level (ages below 13 years). Therefore junior high school seemed like an ideal place to begin. This meant excluding primary, elementary, craft and specialist schools.

The investigative area had three post-secondary institutions receiving students from all three geographical areas. At the secondary level there were twenty-six schools including junior high and high schools. Also because Newfoundland has a denominational system of education, schools were categorized under the Roman Catholic (RC) School Board and the Avalon Consolidated (AC) School Board. The latter represents a number of religious groups. The RC Board has thirteen schools at the junior school level for St. John's. Two of these receive commuting students from Pouch Cove. Students from Bay Bulls attend Mobile Central High School in a neighboring community and this school was added as well. The AC Board has nine schools for St. John's. Two of these similarly receive students from Pouch Cove and Bay Bulls. The multi-stage sampling technique as described for educational administrators was applied for each social group. Tables 5-2 and 5-3 summarize the teacher, student and parent samples.

### **5.3.3. a sample of employers**

I compiled a comprehensive list of employers for the St. John's area based on "A Breakdown and Classification of Businesses in St. John's Metropolitan Area (1973)" published by the St. John's Board of Trade. For the other data communities I compiled lists from the town-clerk in Pouch Cove and from the Parish Priest in Bay Bulls. To achieve a more representative sample I divided businesses into owner-employer type and personnel-manager type businesses. The former represented the smaller type businesses while the latter represented the larger companies. I took a random sample of businesses by geographical and social

**Table 5-2: Sample of teachers**

Teachers:	St. John's		Pouch Cove		Bay Bulls	
	T	S	T	S	T	S
Post-Secondary						
University	202	2	1	1	0	0
Trades	131	2	0	0	0	0
Fisheries	73	2	0	0	0	0
Secondary						
RC Board						
-high	25	2	0	0	1	1
-jr high	8	2	0	0	0	0
AC Board						
-high	25	2	0	0	0	0
-jr high	16	2	1	1	0	0
Total	480	14	2	2	1	1

group. Using the residency qualifications I selected the sample of employers from these businesses. Table 5-4 shows the employer sample.

#### 5.3.4. a sample of employees

Again I compiled a complete list of businesses avoiding the previous division of small and large businesses. Through random sampling I selected businesses for each data community. I also allowed for overlapping where necessary because people from Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove commute to St. John's for employment. Using random sampling I chose sufficient numbers of native speakers categorizing them as: (i) respondents without secondary level education, (ii) respondents with some or completed secondary level education, (iii) respondents with some post-secondary level education and (iv) respondents with completed post-secondary education. I repeated this process until all categories were as complete as possible. Table 5-5 details the employee sample.





**Table 5-5:** Sample of employees

Employees	St. John's	Pouch Cove	Bay Bulls
	S	S	S
Employees	36,817	390	300
no secondary	6	3	3
secondary	6	3	3
some post-secondary	6	3	3
post-secondary	6	0	0
Total	24	9	9

### 5.3.5. Summary of sample

Table 5-6 summarizes the sample of the communities by social groups. Overall the size of the sample adequately represented the native speaker population sufficiently so as not to require replacements for those participants who failed to complete the questionnaire correctly.

**Table 5-6:** Total sample size

Sample	St. John's	Pouch Cove	Bay Bulls
Educational			
Administrators	10	0	1
Teachers	13	1	1
Students	22	11	8
Parents	16	11	8
Employers	4	0	2
Employees	19	5	3
Total	84	28	23

#### 5.4. Administering the questionnaire

The investigation began with administering the questionnaire in the two rural communities. Bay Bulls was first because I was more familiar with the community and the sample size was small, twenty-three respondents. Beginning with a small group gave me an opportunity to monitor the procedure and to prepare for eventual difficulties. Having the same name and being related to the parish priest in this Irish Catholic community helped in my receiving excellent cooperation from those chosen to participate. My identity and purpose quickly became known in the community so I was readily accepted into a friendly atmosphere. I aimed at completing five questionnaires each week. This proved reasonable and I finished with the respondents in Bay Bulls within five weeks. My approach in Pouch Cove was slightly different. I had no over-reaching influence directly encouraging cooperation. However through a friend who was married in the community I was able to establish a number of acquaintances and sought cooperation through them. I placed emphasis on personal contacts because in small Newfoundland communities as elsewhere people are usually suspicious about those seeking information about them. Before even considering the questionnaire one fisherman asked if this questionnaire had anything to do with taxes. The twenty-eight people chosen from Pouch Cove completed their questionnaires within six weeks.

Administering the questionnaire in St. John's was again more difficult. However having taught in the secondary school system and having been raised in St. John's I was able to use both direct and indirect contacts. The greatest problem was finding a suitable time and location to have the questionnaire completed. Generally I contacted most people at their place of employment. These eighty-four people required seventeen weeks for contacting and completing the questionnaires. In all three communities the number of returns mentioned above was the number of successfully completed questionnaires used as data in the analysis.

While working within each dialect area I began with educational administrators and proceeded from there through the other groupings until all were completed. When I contacted a respondent I explained my objectives, my personal role in the investigation and what I hoped to achieve from it. Next I assured my participants that the questionnaire was not testing their abilities to speak or write language. My direct approach helped to give credibility to my efforts at least this was what the respondents commented. Finally, I gave a careful explanation about the different parts of the questionnaire. I started with the structure, next the format of the questions and last how to use the seven point attitude scale. Particular attention was given to the positive, negative and neutral positions on the differential scales noting variations of the bi-polar adjectives. I asked respondents not to reflect on their answers but to give an immediate response since there were no 'right or wrong' answers.

The background questions caused no problems except for the two on financial earnings. Participants were assured that these and all other responses were optional. Questions in Part II posed no apparent problems. Respondents were not told that the questionnaire had an internal structure and that I was exploring seven different dimensions. Where responses were absent from the questionnaire I assigned a '4', neutral value, so that the respondent's other responses could be used in the analysis. Factor analysis rejects all responses for a case if one response is missing. For Parts III and IV respondents did not question the authenticity of the written and spoken language samples. Oftentimes surprised at the grammatical quality of a particular selection respondents simply suggested that it was rural or urban. For the spoken samples I asked respondents to think of them as being heard in conversation which did not appear to cause them any problems.

## Chapter 6

# DATA DIALECTS

### 6.1. Introduction

One problem created in giving scientific status to research is defining the terminology. The essence of the first part of this report the overview of the definitions of attitude was to define the concept for the present investigation. As well there are three other concepts which need clarification: 'speech community', 'dialect' and 'standard'. Dialect will be discussed in relation to language and standard will be viewed in terms of 'regional standard'. Each of these has importance in this study in that I am investigating dialect attitudes with reference to a regional standard and that the hypothesis proposes a single speech community. Following the discussion of these terms I will present for the three data dialects phonemic, phonetic, syntactic and lexical differences. If these features are sufficiently significant to distinguish one dialect from the other then they are sufficiently significant to create ingroup/outgroup contrasts in language attitude responses. However if they are not then as the hypothesis proposes, a single speech community exists for all three data communities. Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968) describe and identify these differences in *The Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland: An Ethno-Linguistic Study*. Phonemic and phonetic features are contrasted here syntactic and lexical differences will be discussed in Chapter 8.



## 6.2. Defining 'speech community'

Social scientists generally accept the "...community as a unit and consider that despite the different contexts in which it may occur, it always remains an entity in its own right" (Worsley, 1970, 249). The speech or language community as one such context is therefore an entity and is not merely a category for analysis. Gumperz (1968) speaks of the speech community as a sociolinguistic entity. Historically however the speech community does not result from any theoretical attempt to define it. Instead it stems from systematic investigations of dialect areas. Earlier definitions, e.g. Marcel Mauso (1950) failed to keep the 'speaking individual' or the 'speaking community' in focus. Later when systematic linguistic fieldwork centered on speech parlance the speech community became more visible. Phonological, syntactic and lexical features were mapped out in forms of isoglosses. They were based on the distribution of colloquial speech forms in societies dominated by other standard literary languages. These were grouped to show geographical shape and to distinguish focal areas called speech communities. This type of analysis also established the importance of social factors in language change. Hence, "...the speech community [came to be seen] as a dynamic field of action where phonetic change, borrowing, language mixture, and language shifts all occur because of social forces,...(Gumperz, 1971:120).

One way to define the speech community is to conceive of language as an ideal system in a homogeneous speech community, e.g. De Saussure (1916) and more recently Chomsky (1965). Another way to view language is to consider the heterogeneity of the speech community and to examine language in terms of its social context, e.g., Labov (1971). Language socially is never completely independent from its context, even if it does express some autonomy. Depending on how one views it a more theoretical or sociolinguistic approach to defining language may result. Bloomfield spoke of the speech community as '...a group of people who interact by means of speech' (Bloomfield, 1933:42). Through this interaction a society based on language constitutes the most important kind of social group. Unfortunately by equating the two Bloomfield had reduced the



notion of a speech community to a language. This makes the concept redundant, denying it any functional role in research beyond its definitional presence. Fishman and Gumperz proposed the idea of uniformity in usage, "a speech community is one, all of whose values share at least a single speech variety and the norms for its appropriate use" (Fishman and Gumperz, 1971:232). Labov varied this notion, the speech community was "...not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms" (Labov, 1972:120-1).

The speech community has at least four features: a center of communication, heterogeneous, spatial and functional boundaries, and internal versus external perspectives. Only in so far as we identify the levels of social structure and interpret them in terms of the language usage does the speech community become meaningful. The social information contained in speech and the speaker's attitudes cannot be understood if we are unable to identify the norms for language appropriateness within the speaker's society. Only to the extent that

...speakers share knowledge of communicative constraints and options governing a significant number of social situations, they can be said to be members of the same speech community (Gumperz, 1964; Hymes, Chapter1" (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972:16).

As a heterogeneous unit the speech community shares in a variety of language codes, e.g., English and French or regional dialects such as Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The speaker chooses the variety he wishes to speak according to his particular goals and interest. By boundaries the speech community may be spatial and/or functional. The first means geographical boundaries, whereas the second means political, ethical or dialectal boundaries. These do not necessarily coincide. However functional boundaries are more arbitrary because to pin down a political entity is more difficult than to mark out a geographical area. By internal versus external perspectives we need to see meaning to understand the valuation, to be aware of the feeling connected with

the local person's point of view should we suggest that our perception is a valid one. "This necessity to see the thing first from the inside and then from the outside rises in understanding anything personal and cultural..." (Redfield, 1955:81). Halliday also places emphasis on the internal perspective. He says "when a speaker states what language he regards himself as speaking, he is defining a language community" (Halliday, 1968:145). This tension between ingroup versus outgroup plus the problems to manage the relationship between them constitute a central problem in the study of the community. In applying these two perspectives we should consider four points: (i) the native speaker's view of the dialect, (ii) his view of the language standard, (iii) the outsider's view of the dialect, (iv) the view of the language in terms of the declared language rules.

### **6.3. Defining 'language' and 'dialect'**

Neither 'language' nor 'dialect' has ever been satisfactorily defined, partly because dialectologists and descriptive linguists have different ideas about what the concepts cover. If dialect is to include the notion of community or social class it will not fit into the descriptive linguist's narrow concept. Such notions identify "spatial or temporal attributes which do not belong to a linguistic system as such" (Weinreich, 1968:306). Descriptive linguists on the other hand limit these terms to phonology, syntax and the lexicon including only purely linguistic elements. The sociolinguist's social parameters and functions of speech varieties are seen as outside of these and as non-scientific. Resulting from these views one accuses the other of either 'impressionism' or 'metaphysics'. To solve this dilemma linguists propose either a unified theory or attempt a clearer distinction between the two concepts.

Identifying the source of this conflict Martinet (1954) says that from its earliest conception structuralism was conspicuously absent from the dialectologist's approach to language.

Yet, off hand, dialectology would seem to be a descriptive discipline, and it is in the descriptive domain that the new linguistic approach has achieved its most widely publicized success (Martinet, 1954:1).

For his own definition of linguistic units Martinet proposed a structural approach by creating opposites, language and dialect were proposed as such a contrast. In dealing with these concepts Gumperz (1960) and Stewart (1968) thought if two or more historically related linguistic systems were involved the presence or absence of autonomy would help to distinguish between them.

A linguistic system which is heteronomous in terms of another, autonomous system will constitute a 'dialect' of that system. By extension, two or more historically related linguistic systems which are heteronomous in terms of a single autonomous system will be considered to stand in a dialect relationship to each other, and the field of heteronomy around a single focus of autonomy will represent a single 'language' (Stewart, 1968:535n).

Likewise Chambers and Trudgill (1980) also used this idea of heteronomy. "Language... it seems, we employ this term for a variety which is autonomous together with all those varieties which are dependent (heteronomous) upon it" (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:11). Earlier Weinreich (1963) proposed a theory of "diasystem" constructed "...out of any two systems which have partial similarities" (Weinreich, 1968:307). This is much like a 'merged system' experienced by "bilingual (including 'bidialectal') speakers. By using this diasystem dialectologists and descriptive linguists could unite on defining language and dialect. Somewhat similar Agard (1971) proposed the idea of 'deep and surface structure'. If two varieties have the same underlying forms they are dialects of a single language, if not they are different languages. This occurs even if they are mutually intelligible. As an example, Agard used Spanish from Spain and Latin America, the latter representing numerous dialects of one language. Contrary to these is the Spanish of the Sephardic Jews, a different language. "The difficulty with this definition is that getting agreement on the underlying forms may be just the same problem under another name" (Bolinger, 1968:345).

Prior to this language was defined essentially as "a system of arbitrary

vocal symbols by means of which a social group cooperates" (Bloch and Trager, 1942:3). This definition was soon found unacceptable for several reasons but essentially because it failed to identify 'social group'. A more 'scientific' definition was sought noting such distinctions as language versus dialect, dialect versus idiolect etc.. Martinet (1954) sought such a distinction in contrasting 'dialect' with 'language'. He designated language as that spoken by one of the major nations, e.g. English or French. Dialect however "refers to a form of speech peculiar to a section of the domain of a 'language' it is, as it were, a variety of that language" (Martinet, 1954:3) and suitable for referring to the speech community. Underlying another definition we see Hockett's (1958) idea of 'idiolect'. Language is observable only as a collection of idiolects. While language is the basic instrument by which we speak, it is not collective behavior itself. We observe only the habits of single speakers, we infer the rest. For Hockett language is

a collection of more or less similar idiolects" [and dialect is] "...the same thing, with this difference: when both terms are used in a single discussion, the degree of similarity of the idiolects in a single dialect is presumed to be greater than that of all the idiolects in a single language (Hockett, 1958:322).

Empirical studies of speech either phonetically or attitudinally take place at the idiolect level. However objections were raised to this approach. "As a unit of analysis,...an idiolect is defined by extra-linguistic criteria, and homogeneity of structure is not a necessary requirement" (Ferguson and Gumperz, 1971:29). Besides this there was the constancy of speech and the problem of further divisions within idiolect, e.g., into styles.

Ferguson and Gumperz (1960) defined the notion of 'dialect' as somewhere between 'variety' and 'language'. With variety as the 'minimal unit of linguistic description' a dialect is

any set of one or more varieties of a language which share at least one feature or combination of features setting them apart from other varieties of the language, and which may appropriately be treated as a unit on linguistic or non-linguistic grounds (Ferguson and Gumperz, 1971:35)



Chambers and Trudgill (1980) also used the term *variety* as a neutral term for a particular kind of language seen as a single entity. "'Dialect', on the other hand, refers to varieties which are grammatically (and perhaps lexically) as well as phonologically different from other varieties" (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:5).

The problem with most of the definitions reviewed in the literature is that they tend toward 'universalizing' the concepts. They seek definitions incorporating all parameters of the concepts in all situations. It is like proposing a 'homogeneous speech community', an ideal concept, but not a real one for a group of speakers. Likewise in defining language and dialect linguists have been suggesting the ideal concept, one covering all aspects, theoretical and social realities. Yet we need 'contextual definitions' in empirical research, they define precisely the concept for its particular context. Such a definition would reflect a 'common denominator' for the concept-at-large, but it would differ from other 'contextual definitions' insofar as it would emphasize with greater precision the concept in terms of its particular context. Weinreich's (1968) 'diasystem' based on the similarities of the concepts could form the basis of a 'general definition' without rigid limitations for each of the concepts. From there we could define 'language' and 'dialect' according to its linguistic context. These would become 'contextual definitions'. This approach parallels an earlier one that I proposed for defining 'attitude' in Chapter 3.

Why is there a necessity to have the notions of 'language' and 'dialect' defined in such rigorous terms? The very nature of the concepts show they are in the 'state of flux' and to deny this in a universal definition would be to narrow the concepts. Therefore let us define 'dialect' contextually as phonological, syntactic, lexical and social. By phonological I mean the phonetic differences distinguishing the varieties of English spoken by, for example, St. John's, Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove people. By syntactic and lexicon I mean the grammatical and lexical differences among the same speakers. By social I mean that speakers of these communities consider themselves as a close social unit and they tend to



express this solidarity by favoring those linguistic innovations which set them apart from other speakers who are not part of their group. Contextually therefore dialect is a speech variety found to have phonological, syntactic and lexical differences defining geographical or social parameters.

#### **6.4. Defining 'standard and regional standard'**

Standard is a social factor having no intrinsic qualities of language. It "...is the standard by virtue of societal establishment and social valuation" (Hertzler, 1965:93). "Standardization is not a property of language per se, but a characteristic societal treatment of language,..." (Fishman, 1972:19). Garvin and Mathiot (1956) went further to qualify standard as a social feature founded in 'urban culture'. Story (1959) completed the contrast 'standard is urban, and dialect is rural'. "Dialect becomes the speech of isolated, or non-urban areas, and for that is sometimes called popular speech" (Story, 1959:68). Halliday (1964) broadens the notion of standard by suggesting several standards within a single speech community. These vary from regional to national depending on how we perceive the speech community, e.g. standards for American, British and Canadian English are not the same. He also stated that speakers of a standard do not necessarily speak it the same way, most retain the accent of their native dialects in speaking the standard.

It is quite normal for members of a language community which has a standard to continue to use both the native and learnt (standard) dialects in different situations throughout their lives (Halliday, 1964:85).

Furthermore, in rural communities speakers tend to use their native dialects with some emphasis, whereas in urban communities the demands on the native and standard dialect reverse. Speakers frequently drop their native dialects because they do not have opportunities to use them. These speakers then adopt the standard variety.

Garvin and Mathiot (1956) attributed four functions to language standard, it can: unify, cause separation, note prestige and be used as a frame-of-reference.

As unifying it may give a single identity to a single linguistic community, as a separating force it may cause divergence from other dialect communities. A region with several dialects usually gives more prestige to one by making it the regional standard. Hence speakers of the regional standard usually see their speech as being more prestigious. Such identity gives unity to the speech community. Yet this standard should be distinctive enough to identify the speech of the area as different from that of other areas. When society gives a variety symbolic elaboration as a standard it also attributes prestige to it. As a standard it contrasts with all other varieties or non-standards at least socially. Such a contrast will obviously set conditions for attitude reaction toward the standard and the non-standard. This does not mean varieties other than standards do not have prestige, for indeed they may. It simply means that standards are usually the most prestigious. Frame-of-reference also characteristic of standards is the 'yardstick for correctness'. Speakers are judged on how they observe this norm. Also in relation to frame-of-reference a standard may have an esthetic function in the language,

...the property of speech forms to attract attention primarily to themselves rather than to the message they convey (Garvin and Mathiot, 1956:787).

In focusing my approach on the data dialects and the order given to them references to the above distinctions might be helpful. Standard as a socially prestigious variety of speech within a speech community goes without question. Focusing on the dialects I accept the Garvin and Mathiot (1956) and Story (1959) distinction, standard is urban and dialect is rural. Thus St. John's English is a regional standard for the Newfoundland speech community. The English spoken in both Bay Bulls and Pouch represent respectively the Southern Shoreline and Northern Shoreline dialects. For analysis standard versus dialect reflects the interdialectal nature of the investigation. In the questionnaire I used 'educated Newfoundland English' as a guise for the regional standard St. John's English. Other beneficial characteristics are those by Garvin and Mathiot (1956). From

them, we see English in Canada characterized at the regional or provincial level, not at the national level. Also beyond their many dialects, Newfoundlanders have identified at least one dialect as a standard and therefore as a unifying force. Yet, this standard is distinctive enough to separate it from standards of the mainland of Canada.

'Canadian English' is an illusion and any attempt to impose a fictitious standard flies in the face of such regional speech as that represented by Newfoundland English usage (Story, 1975:322).

As a standard St. John's English has prestige within the Newfoundland speech community and is rated socially higher than the dialects. As a frame-of-reference speakers have more positive attitudes toward the regional standard.

### **6.5. Three dialects of the Avalon Peninsula**

Story (1950) related regionalism in Newfoundland English to historical and geographic factors. The first relates to our ancestry from the old countries, whereas the second is brought about by our having been isolated. The effects of these is most evident in pronunciation, intonation, syntax and vocabulary. Of recent efforts to record these Drysdale (1959) began a phonemic study of Newfoundland speech for the purpose of setting up a 'standard of reference' for further investigations. His phonemic description for a standard variety was drawn from Eastern Newfoundland communities and could be best described he says as 'a standard Conception Bay' dialect. He noted, in his preparatory research that "...it is necessary...to dispell the illusion that there is any one Newfoundland dialect" (Drysdale, 1959:26). He proposed as a result six potential dialect areas: (i) Avalon Peninsula, (ii) Burin Peninsula and the south coast to Burgeo, (iii) south west corner, (iv) Corner Brook and part of central Newfoundland, (v) Northern Peninsula, and (vi) Notre Dame Bay and Bonavista (see appendix F). Drysdale chose to ignore St. John's because of its heterogeneity which resulted in leaving out a very important group of speakers. Evidence supporting these isoglossed dialects was never presented. There is little proof that they actually existed as Drysdale conceived them. However for his 'standard reference' he did describe some phonemes (see appendix G).

Paddock (1977) did not see the Island as neatly divided into dialect areas, he proposed that features were isoglosses as 'stretches'. He was able to support this idea in his mapping of the pronunciation of /l/ after vowels as a dark contoid (Canadian type). Finding evidence on the west coast of the Northern Peninsula and some with variation in Bonavista and Trinity Bays he says that

since most of the interior of Newfoundland is not settled one can hardly talk about dialect areas in Newfoundland; instead we have dialect stretches (Paddock, 1977:91-1).

By stretches he meant one dimensional, whereas areas are two dimensional geographical variations. Based upon the few features presented this is an excellent concept of presentation. Also because of this perspective Paddock does not draw isoglosses as was done by Drysdale. Changes in linguistic features are gradual

...or merely tendencies for one variant rather than another to predominate on certain stretches of coast (Paddock, 1977:92).

The problem evident from both proposals is that the Island has numerous dialects or areas of 'dialect remnants' related to various parts of Ireland, England and Scotland. To isogloss these would be a considerable task and would take much time and effort. A wiser approach therefore might be to investigate a smaller area such as the Avalon Peninsula. This is what Seary, Story and Kirwin did during the early 1960's. Of the four dialects identified three of them were included in this study: Bay Bulls for the Southern Shoreline dialect, Pouch Cove for the Northern Shoreline dialect and St. John's for the St. John's dialect (see appendix E). We are told these designated dialects are in some ways arbitrary

...because they are meant to apply to particular patterns of speech habits rather than to specific geographic localities. Where a stretch of coastline was settled by people of identical ethnic and religious origin, the dialect can be described geographically (Seary, Story and Kirwin, 1968:59).

The communities chosen for this study for the most part do reflect similar religious and ethnic backgrounds.



The following descriptive features of the data dialects and the boundaries as given below are taken directly from Seary et al. (1968). I am summarizing them here to emphasize where they are contrastive. A more complete description of each dialect with commentaries and examples in phonetic script may be found in appendix H. In all dialects pronunciations of many vowels show stylistic or free variation. The purpose for presenting these data and description is to verify that dialect differences have been shown to exist and to emphasize the hypothesis that if they are still sufficiently strong, ingroup/outgroup attitudes reactions will occur. The syntactic and lexical differences will be discussed in Chapter 8.

### **6.5.1 contrastive dialect features of St. John's, Northern Shoreline and Southern Shoreline dialects**

The St. John's dialect is spoken by nearly half of the respondents and has a full complement of twenty-four standard English consonants. These are similar to those of cultivated speakers of English anywhere, with some minor variations. The Southern Shoreline dialect spoken by a quarter of the sample is represented by people from Bay Bulls. This dialect has twenty-two standard English consonants plus two dental stops. A very homogeneous dialect it stretches from Petty Harbor to Trepassey, to St. Mary's Bay and onto the east side of Placentia Bay as far north as Placentia. Its ethnic background Irish and its religious affiliation Roman Catholic are identifying characteristics of this dialect. The Northern Shoreline dialect is represented by speakers from Pouch Cove who make up the final quarter of the sample. This dialect has twenty-two of the standard English consonants. Not as homogeneous as the Southern Shoreline dialect the Northern Shoreline dialect is spoken in a number of settlements and towns around Conception Bay, the east coast of Trinity Bay, as well as around St. John's.



### The consonant phonemes

/ p	t (ss)	t	č	k
b	d (ss)	d	ǰ	g
f	θ (ns)	s	š	
v	ð (ns)	z	ž	
m		n		ŋ
	ɹ (ss, sj)	ɹ (ns)		
	r			
w		y		h /

SS=Southern Shoreline dialect; NS=Northern Shoreline dialect; SJ=St. John's dialect. These abbreviations will be used throughout this section.

Differences in consonant phonemes among the three dialects exist only in the dental and alveolar areas of articulation. Other phonemes are generally similar to RP or close to the IPA quality. The format for the following presentation is to identify the standard phonemes and then to give the allophonic variations in the different dialects.

/t/ is standard in SJ and is dentalized [t̪] in SS where (th) is usually written, e.g., 'three' [t̪rɪ<sup>h</sup>]. SS has variations, [t̪ʰ] initially and [t̪] intervocally, e.g., ['wɔ̃<sup>h</sup>t̪z]. NS uses [t] for (th), e.g., 'three' [trɪ<sup>h</sup>]. Variations are [tʰ] and [t̪] intervocally, [ʔ] occasionally.

/d/ is standard for SJ but it occurs dentally [d̪] in SS where (th) is usually written [ð], e.g., 'that' [d̪æt]. NS has [d] for [d̪] and [ð], e.g., 'mother' ['mɔ̃də].

/l/ is clear for SJ, it may be clear [ɫ] or alveolar [l] for SS, e.g., 'milk' [mɪɫk] and 'Sheila's' [ʃɪ<sup>h</sup>lɔ̃z]. Variations exist in NS, dark [ɫ] finally, syllabically and

next to low and back vowels, e.g., 'arrival of caplin' [skʌɪ]. Clear [ɪ] occurs close to high front vowels, e.g., 'home-made anchor' ['kɪɪɪk].

/r/ in SJ is a frictionless glide initially and intervocalically, e.g., [ˌmantrɪ'hɑɪ]. In SS it occurs initially, intervocalically and after consonants as a retroflex glide, e.g., 'dreary' ['drɛəɾɪ̠ˈɹ̠]. For NS the frictionless [r] is found initially and intervocalically, e.g., 'small stream' ['drɪbɛɪ].

The syllabic retroflex /ɹ̠/ is central, slightly lowered or retracted in SJ, it is similar to SS where a clear and strong retroflex appears. NS has it central and raised with r-coloring occurs after vowels. SJ has a full complement of separated retroflex vowels, /ɪɹ/ and /ʊɹ/ do not lower to merge with /er/ and /or/, e.g., [pʊɹ] and [pɔ̠ˈɹ̠t]. NS tends to lower [ɪ̠] and [ʊ̠] to [ɛ̠] and [ɔ̠], e.g., 'gear' [gɛ̠ˈɹ̠] and 'oar' [ɔ̠ˈɹ̠].

### The vowel phonemes

/ i			u
ɪ			ʊ
e	ɜ		o
ɛ	ʌ (ns)		ɔ
æ	a (ns)		a (ss,sj)
	ai (sj)	au (sj)	ɔɪ (sj)
	au (ns)	ai (ns)	ɔɪ (ns)
	au (ss)		ai (ss) /

Considerable variation occurs among the vowel phonemes in the data dialects. Front Vowels:

/i/ is a high front vowel and is standard in SJ [i]. It has a slight glide [i̠] in SS, e.g., 'breeze' [brɪ̠z]. NS has a customary diphthongal glide, often beginning from a very low position, e.g., 'tie' [tɒ̠].

/ɪ/ is a lower front vowel and is standard in SJ [ɪ]. It is also standard in stressed positions in SS, e.g., 'blizzard' [ˈbɫɪzəd]. In weakly stressed syllables and finally this is a barred [ɛ̃], [ĩ], [ɪ̃] or even [e], e.g., 'autumn storm' [ˈdɛm̃rɛ̃]. Usually close to IPA quality in NS it may be high before /n/, e.g., 'caplin' [ˈkɛ̃plɪn].

/e/ is a mid front vowel showing considerable variation. For SJ the diphthongal [e̠] and/or a lowered and lengthened monophthong of SS may be heard. In SS [eː̃ eː̃̃] may occur, frequently lengthened and lowered without a discernable rising glide. It appears in words spelled (a-e) and is typical for syllable (ea), e.g., 'bail' [beːl] and 'leak' [ɫeːk]. NS often has a centering glide [ẽ̠], except when it is final instead of a rising glide, e.g., 'States' [stẽ̠ts].

/ɛ/ is a lower front vowel, short or half-long and close to IPA quality. It has little variation in SS appearing frequently before a following r to contrast 'ear' and 'air', e.g., 'severe' [sɛ̃ːvr̃].

/æ/ is a lower front vowel and is typically [æ] in SJ, e.g., 'par' [pæ̃]. SS has it as short or half-long with a tendency to rise or nasalize, however this or a slightly lower variety is the nucleus with a following r. The nucleus is r-colored rather than with a following retroflexion, e.g., 'good firs for cutting' [ˈstæ̃rg̃nz].

## Back Vowels

/u/ is a high back vowel and standard in SJ. A glide with lip rounding occurs in SS, e.g., 'due' [dʒu̠]. NS has its customary diphthongal glide, often beginning from a quite low position.

/ʊ/ is a lower back vowel and standard in SJ. Occasionally it is found in a higher position closer to [u]. It is short and without a glide in SS, e.g., 'looking' [ˈlʊkɪŋ]. For NS it may be raised, e.g., 'ice-berg' [ˈɡrɛp<sup>u</sup>lɜ̃].

/ɔ/ is a mid back vowel and a diphthong [ɔ<sup>u</sup>] or a lowered and lengthened monophthong in SJ. SS shows some variation [ɔ: ɔ:˘ ɔ<sup>u</sup>] but not generally as a clear glide toward [u]. Lengthening and lowering are more common, e.g., 'whole' [hɔ:ɹ] and 'dandelion flowers' [ˈpɔ:˘zɪ<sup>i</sup>z]. For NS /ɔ/ is a centering glide [ɔ<sup>ə</sup>] except when final and not as a final glide [ɔ<sup>u</sup>], e.g., 'Labrador' [ˌlæbr<sup>ə</sup>ˈdɔ<sup>ə</sup>ɜ̃].

/ɔ/ is a lower mid back vowel in SJ and similar in pattern to RP though lower and less rounded. It can also be retracted, slightly rounded and lengthened in some words especially in 'father and St. John's' in formal contexts. NS also has this phoneme, e.g., 'boiled' [bɔ<sup>ɛ̃</sup>ɪd]. SS does not have this phoneme.

/a/ is a lower back vowel of some complexity in these dialects. In SJ it contrasts with /ɔ/, both are in the low back area of the mouth. However in NS /ɔ/ is lower central and similarly in contrast with /a/. SS has no lower back rounded vowel [a] although it provides a number of alternatives [a aː aː ɔː ɔː]. Many words with (o, au, aw) have low central vowels, often fronted without appreciable contrast in length even when final, e.g., 'bag' [bæɡ], 'pound' [paːnd] and 'frost' [frɔst].

### Central Vowels

/ɜ/ is a mid central retroflex in SJ, e.g., 'pier' [pɪ<sup>ɜ̃</sup>]. It is widespread among NS speakers who tend to lower it after [ɪ<sup>ɜ̃</sup>] and [ʊ<sup>ɜ̃</sup>] to [ɛ<sup>ɜ̃</sup>] and [ɔ<sup>ɜ̃</sup>], e.g., 'gear' [ɡɛ<sup>ɜ̃</sup>] and 'storm' [stɔ:ɜ̃<sup>m</sup>]. In NS (Pouch Cove), [ə] is sometimes in free variation with [ɜ]. Considerable variation occurs in SS [ɜː ɜː ɜː˘: ɜ̃<sup>ɜ̃</sup>]. A special quality audible in this vowel seems to result from a lowered or retracted position of the tongue or a special configuration of the mouth, e.g., 'first' [fɔː<sup>ɜ̃</sup>st], 'barn' [bæɜ̃n] and 'fur' [fɜ̃ː].

and NS, e.g., 'posts on wharf' [gʌmp] and 'pump' [pʌmp].

## Diphthongs

The diphthongs will show considerable variation noting they are very unsettled. SJ has three diphthongs and as seen on the vowel chart above /aɪ/ is low front to high front, /au/ is low central to high back and /ɔɪ/ is low back to high front. SS has two diphthongs, /au/ is low front to high back and /aɪ/ is low back to high front. NS has two diphthongs with some doubt about a third, /au/ is low front to high back, /aɪ/ is low central to high front and the doubtful one /ɔɪ/ is low back to high front.

/aɪ/ and /ɔɪ/ are contrastive in SJ though there is a tendency to sound both closer to [ɛ̝]. Before voiceless consonants, /aɪ/ has a raised first element, e.g., 'night' [nɛ̝<sup>̥</sup>tʃ]. /aʊ/ is constant [a<sup>ʊ</sup>] or [a̠<sup>ʊ</sup>] whether the subsequent consonant is voiced or voiceless. In NS these diphthongs offer many shades and differences of the initial vowel. Sometimes the initial sound is center to [ɐ] or [ə] and othertimes speakers front the first part of the second diphthong to [æ̠<sup>ʊ</sup>] and [ɛ̠<sup>ʊ</sup>]. In this dialect contrasts between these are few and frequently the lowered type is the only one employed, e.g., 'ice-berg' [ 'grɛ̠<sup>ʊ</sup>lɔ̝ ] and 'oil' [ɔ̠<sup>ʊ</sup>l]. For SS these diphthongs have considerable variations, /aɪ/ [ɐ ɐ̠<sup>̥</sup> ɐ̠<sup>̥</sup> ɐ̠<sup>̥</sup> ɐ̠<sup>̥</sup> ɐ̠<sup>̥</sup> ] and /aʊ/ [a̠<sup>ʊ</sup> ɐ̠<sup>ʊ</sup> ɐ̠<sup>ʊ</sup> ɐ̠<sup>ʊ</sup> ] respectively. The diphthong /aɪ/ begins with some low back vowel and glides to a front and high position. The first element is often lengthened and rounded. If a voiceless consonant follows the diphthong may be shorter and somewhat raised, e.g., 'sleds' [ sɪ̠<sup>̥</sup>v<sup>̥</sup>dz ] and 'points' [pɪ̠<sup>̥</sup>nts ]. For the latter diphthong retracting begins with a low central vowel. It is sometimes raised and glides to a high back position with accompanying rounding of the lips, e.g., 'small ice-bergs' [ 'grɛ̠<sup>ʊ</sup>lɔ̝<sup>ʷ</sup>z ] and 'small cod' [ 'ra̠<sup>ʊ</sup>ndɔ̝ ].

/ɔɪ/ does not exist in SS. It is contrastive with /aɪ/ in SJ and NS. Although /aɪ/ in both dialects originate from different positions.



## Chapter 7

# QUESTIONNAIRE DATA: PART I

### 7.1. Introduction

The final chapters of this investigation analyze attitude responses to Parts II, III and IV of the questionnaire. Part II consists of fifty-four questions subgrouped as: (i) Qs. 21-7 geographical dialects, (ii) Qs. 28-34 'acceptable Newfoundland English', (iii) Qs. 35-44 'educated Newfoundland English', (iv) Qs. 45-65 a self-analysis of the respondents' own speech, (v) Qs. 66-70 social dialects. Parts III and IV respectively contain fifteen samples each of the spoken and written dialects. The present chapter will analyze the data from Part II and chapter 8 will analyze the data from Parts III and IV. The data found in this chapter are attitudes formed over an extended period of time, whereas the data for the next chapter are attitudes responses to immediate stimuli. The essential difference between them is that the latter might be simply one time responses. Immediate stimuli responses often reflect features of the context or conditions under which the attitudes were elicited. These features might not form part of the 'sustained attitude' which we are seeking in Part II. Respondents in the latter two sections were asked to react to written samples of the written and spoken dialects focusing on a number of syntactical features found in the dialects. Finally Chapter 9 will summarize the review and investigation into attitudes and make a final statement about the hypothesis.

The fifty-four questions in Part II of the questionnaire are of two types. Forty-two were designed according to the Osgood Semantic Differential-type scale and twelve were multiple-choice questions. The scale-questions involved a graded

continuum which lend itself aptly to factor analysis. The multiple-choice questions were restricted basically to frequency counts. I will analyze the first group of responses according to the sample structure as presented in chapter 4. Responses by geographical groups, St. John's, Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove, will be contrasted for ingroup/outgroup significant differences. Then, responses by social groups: administrators, teachers, parents, students, employers and employees will be similarly contrasted. The second group of questions, multiple choice, will be analyzed only for frequencies and will appear in a separate section under 'non-factor questions'.

Beyond the initial discussion of reducing the responses to common factors through factor analysis, four dimensions will be identified. The first of these is the 'geo-dialectal dimension', ingroup attitudes of respondents toward their own dialect and toward the dialects of the other two communities. Next the 'language standard awareness dimension' involves perceptions of data dialects in terms of a regional standard. The third, 'linguistic security dimension', investigates ingroup perception of respondents' own speech. The fourth, 'socio-dialectal dimension', looks at respondents' perceptions of social dialects. Particular focus will be given to ingroup/outgroup significant differences so as to support or deny the hypothesis.

## **7.2. Factor analysis of Part II data**

An extension of the Likert-Type scale of grading points along a continuum, the Osgood Semantic Differential-type scale lends itself to the mathematical ordering of data used in factor analysis. The single most distinctive feature of this procedure is its data-reduction capability. Given a set of correlation coefficients for a set of variables factor-analysis will identify any underlying patterns of relationships which will 'reduce' the data to smaller sets of components. The forty-two questions in Part II were factor analyzed and the factors or components produced are the 'source variables' accounting for the observed interrelationships in the data.

The reason for using factor analysis was essentially a confirmatory one to test a hypothesis about the structuring of variables in terms of a number of significant factors. Part II of the questionnaire attempts to evaluate five general dimensions: Qs. 21-27 elicit perceptions of Newfoundland English in general and of three dialects on the Avalon Peninsula in particular, Qs. 28-34 seek to identify 'acceptable Newfoundland English', Qs. 35-44 seek to identify 'educated Newfoundland English', Qs. 45-65 elicit attitudes about the perception of the respondents' own English, and Qs. 66-70 elicit attitudes about social dialects. If indeed, each of these dimensions is being measured, then the factors produced should correspond to each of the above groups.

Of the factor-analytic procedures available I used the following in this analysis: in preparation of the correlation matrix, R factoring; extraction of initial factors, defined factors or principal-component solution; rotation to terminal factors, orthogonal (uncorrelated factors) rotation by varimax. By using the principal component analysis I will be using a strictly empirical approach where no particular assumption about the ordering structure of the variables is required. Although there is a determined structure in the ordering of the variables I am still taking an exploratory approach at this stage to seek the best linear combination of variables. By best I mean the particular combination of variables that accounts for more of the variance in the data as a whole than any other linear combination.

Initially I had to decide on the most meaningful approach to the data. Since I was analyzing interdialectal attitudes I had the option to analyze all groups together and from there to seek differences from their mean scores or to analyze each dialect group separately and then to contrast the responses of one group with those of another. While the individual group analysis appeared to make contrasts more distinct it also posed two problems. How does one deal with the dimensions for each group if they broke down differently, particularly in relation to those dimensions designed for the questionnaire? Secondly, would the

number of respondents in each group be sufficient for factor analysis in terms of its reliability?

Experimenting with individual group analysis first, I factor analyzed each group without factor restriction, next I limited the factors to five to compare them with the intuitive structure set down in the questionnaire, finally I restricted the factors to four because I thought two of the proposed dimensions would probably fall together and this appeared to be the best linear presentation of the data. The results of the first factor analysis showed St. John's respondents were most clear in their loading on all five of the dimensions proposed in the questionnaire. Pouch Cove respondents loaded clearly on three of the five proposed dimensions. Bay Bulls respondents revealed the greatest complexity, only two of the dimensions proposed were reflected to any degree. As I restricted the number of factors to five and four a similar pattern occurred, however greater complexity developed for each analysis. The dimensions most clearly reflected were: Qs. 21-27 geographical, Qs. 28-44 the 'acceptable and educated' dimensions fell together, and Qs. 45-65 respondents' evaluation of their own speech.

The explanation for St. John's respondents loading more clearly than Pouch Cove or Bay Bulls respondents was sample size. They numbered eighty-four with twenty-eight and twenty-three respondents respectively for the other groups. The larger the number of respondents in the group the more reliable the analysis. The above groups are well below the desired number of respondents for this procedure. Factor analysis was not intended for small groups but for larger groups over a hundred. Dealing with smaller groups lessens the reliability of the analysis. The ideal analysis should use approximately fifteen variables for each respondent; however, this would provide for rather voluminous data.

Because of the group sizes I sought the more meaningful analysis giving the greatest reliability to the data. All one hundred and thirty-five respondents were grouped for a single analysis of their responses to the forty-two questions. All



cases were read for each variable. This is important in the factor analytic technique because where a respondent fails to answer even one question, all responses for the other questions are discarded for that respondent. In the experimental run only sixty-nine cases were read, thus sixty-six cases were excluded because of missing responses. Since missing and neutral values have the same significance for this investigation I assigned all missing values to the neutral value of '4'. This adjustment then incorporated all 135 cases reading each case for those responses made.

With all cases included, initially the varimax rotated matrix produced fourteen factors: a general factor for the best summary of linear relationships exhibited in the data, eleven group factors and two specific factors. The following table shows the factor loadings, eigenvalues, percentages of common variance, as well as the cumulative percentages for each of these factors. For this first-stage analysis the following criterion is quite applicable since the forty-two variables used is between the limits of twenty and fifty. Cattell suggested Kaiser's criterion as probably most reliable within these numbers (Child, 1970:43).

Under eigenvalues I have drawn a line after 8; only these factors proved to be significant because they have a value greater than 1. This cut-off point is known as Kaiser's criterion (suggested by Guttman and adapted by Kaiser). "Only the factors having latent roots greater than one are considered as common factors" (Child, 1970:43). Next there is the degree of variance. Many fundamental ideas in factor analysis come from the concept of variance, a very common statistical term which provides an index of the dispersion of scores. Common variance accounts for the intercorrelation between variables. In the above table there are eight factors accounting for 82.3% of the common variance. Anything above the 60% level is considered acceptable.

The criterion for choosing the significant loadings in each factor was also based on Child (1970).



**Table 7-1:** A general analysis allowing for unlimited factors

Factor:	eignvalue	pct of var.	cum pct.
1	7.09094	28.3	28.3
2	3.53948	14.1	42.4
3	2.81528	11.2	53.7
4	1.90138	7.6	61.3
5	1.44281	5.8	67.0
6	1.37560	5.5	72.5
7	1.27043	5.1	77.6
8	1.19101	4.8	82.3
-	-----	---	----
9	0.90768	3.6	86.0
10	0.88218	3.5	89.5
11	0.72204	2.9	92.4
12	0.68711	2.7	95.1
13	0.65344	2.6	97.7
14	0.57514	2.3	100.0

For the purpose of specifying an acceptable level of significance the loadings could be treated in a similar fashion to correlation coefficients. ... Because of the uncertainty surrounding the assessment of error in factorial work, it would perhaps be safer to adopt the one per cent level as the criterion for significance. (Child, 1970:45)

With a sample of one hundred and thirty-five the suggested factor loading is .238 for significance, see Child (1970). This would account for 5.6% of the shared variance which is statistically significant, however socially this is almost meaningless. The standard convention for many factor analyst is a minimum of .3 or 9% of the shared variance in a dimension. The minimum standard for analysis in this investigation will be .35 or 12.25% of the common variance for significance. Table 7-2 presents the factor loadings for each of the factors noted above.

If we consider Factor (hereafter, F) 1 in the above table 10 loadings rate as

**Table 7-2:** Factor loadings for the unlimited  
factor analysis

Var	F1.	F2.	F3.	F4.	F5.	F6.	F7.	F8.
21A	79238*	00010	08631	22870	00658	00658	03146	09347
21B	60644*	13044	11573	03230	10072	37030*	06307	05178
22	00168	05634	08366	00202	06851	01972	01972	00630
25A	77005*	00798	16976	01175	17386	21627	05290	18731
25B	64062*	18907	22008	09698	20348	15504	06515	00338
26A	85149*	05416	03835	13846	04759	06257	01408	01849
26B	74574*	12540	18561	03243	00517	17803	02896	16237
27A	85891*	05013	16802	09870	00416	10599	03797	00916
27B	79954*	19507	18585	09362	03707	16314	04490	05748
28	10868	07695	07958	00147	07997	47230*	15672	10580
29	04472	12775	15217	14565	01443	17279	04764	65268
32	11953	17619	11792	10867	53535*	06682	17582	04377
33	11501	16988	10295	06235	87679*	03270	08517	01511
34	18894	15674	00980	15260	82236*	02464	06792	01369
35	05565	47021*	05693	01687	00475	12705	03275	08611
36	15336	44724*	01939	00833	17920	09645	16848	00700
37	08252	28719	02230	16479	21898	05816	02767	46375
40	13183	49529*	02963	10795	18176	06101	00949	16897
41	02036	62962*	01655	04740	09842	16483	06507	11046
42	03829	84058*	01615	11996	18428	11829	01281	10583
44	01683	59050*	00315	03654	03794	03575	07059	06177
48	39725*	18397	29938	04651	05976	30554*	01998	04861
50	13232	00233	19817	23725	00862	24066	28388	16733
51	17899	01527	09041	44123*	09563	39491*	13290	26973
53	03118	02897	09863	49267*	12663	04344	28380	13767
54	03173	06385	05870	00097	04632	09552	02261	10703
55	02472	00481	09729	49299*	05909	08069	07519	11264
56	15023	11034	06501	03881	11477	05156	10428	03687
57	05857	13231	01278	79587*	04744	12637	03213	21644
58	07716	01163	01664	01233	04710	19912	55541	06112
59	00551	00308	01482	29175	06027	18109	05309	14110
60	29684	13942	01518	10449	02079	29820	19388	27715
61	07203	15200	02185	16328	22612	05109	01872	12938
62	02162	05223	02936	31060*	00749	02156	75901	16757

table 7-2, continued

63	02910	04564	15884	42442*	00140	03804	09872	04583
64	20829	14996	00816	60228*	00123	01268	10379	14401
65	03265	09136	11698	13376	06076	41378*	10538	08620
66	34686*	01764	68073*	09838	03785	00967	02156	13288
67	22794	05277	81363*	01978	13447	11753	01499	02347
68	21581	03534	79244*	00341	13474	03588	10302	04386
69	12145	14357	37468*	12754	03709	00839	02249	07982
70	24668	12628	37818*	04359	03648	11504	00580	02836

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\* the decimal point preceding the numbers  
has been removed  
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significant for that factor. The highest loading is .85891 or 73% and the lowest is .34686 or 12% of the shared variance. 8 of the 10 loadings rank above .60644 or 36.7% of the shared variance for that dimension. Therefore this factor is considered socially significant.

Where loadings on a factor at plus or minus 3 were less in number than three and/or expressing a factorial complexity of two they were dropped because insufficient variables exist to create a true dimension. The above table shows that F7 and F8 have less than three loadings at plus or minus 3, therefore they are not considered meaningful factors. F6 with variables 21B, 48 and 51 shows a factorial complexity of two. This means that the meaning of each of these variables is no longer simple. They are measuring more than one theoretical dimension. Thus F6 was deleted leaving only five factors, F1, F2, F3, F4 and F5 acceptable for that analysis.

Since only five factors showed meaningful dimensions for the analysis I factor analyzed the variables a second time. The analysis limited the factors to five, see table 7-3, to see if some of the significant loadings on the deleted factors might reload on one of the five factors. While some of the significant loadings did reload on the other five factors new problems arose with F5. Variables 33, 34 and 41 showed a factorial complexity of three, three and two respectively. Therefore I deleted this factor to keep the dimensions clearly defined. Another aspect of this re-analysis showed some loadings from the earlier non-significant factors reloading. Since I was seeking the best summary of linear relationships within the data I decided on another factor analysis with a limitation to four factors.

Using plus or minus 0.35 as the minimum significant value for each loading 34 variables loaded significantly on 4 factors. One variable, 66 showed a factorial complexity of two appearing under F1 and F4. For this variable the dimension is not clear and in any further investigation I would delete that question. Eight variables showed no significance above plus or minus 0.35 on the factor on which

**Table 7-3:** An analysis restricted  
to 4 factors

Var.	F1.	F2.	F3.	F4.
21A	77566*	09552	14285	04759
21B	61313*	18981	12198	08055
22	02721	15944	02759	12602
25A	73936*	12890	05171	23159
25B	64815*	28573	01480	13738
26A	85079*	05685	04343	05399
26B	72751*	15515	12327	08230
27A	87036*	02300	05582	02603
27B	79342*	23432	08778	03204
28	14444	13323	13843	08074
29	04769	11266	13729	35698*
32	10431	41732*	07372	29333
33	16132	60729*	01186	13163
34	21882	58439*	09448	03016
35	01042	38200*	00206	05448
36	12735	44898*	07525	04461
37	09697	27069	12534	10203
40	15799	55606*	13872	11465
41	00098	66008*	14804	00975
42	04232	71308*	11435	07567
44	04145	44944*	00981	10508
48	48260*	26809	12048	22368
50	15978	06010	48272*	09560
51	17730	01025	50467*	03448
53	04498	14287	49841*	01702
54	08012	06787	01050	19092
55	00977	00609	40986*	07482
56	20787	16230	13742	00613
57	04381	10272	70875*	16199
58	08433	04489	24646	02112
59	03270	03278	32975	04836
60	36234*	18968	10285	02063
61	13596	40246*	18767	06136
62	04332	01269	51321*	07672



table 7-3, continued

63	00310	00429	44251*	06895
64	21810	10812	58581*	18761
65	00546	06286	25885	16715
66	42402*	00279	18376	54233*
67	31489	14843	08381	78841*
68	31249	05657	14954	70918*
69	17682	19982	12470	50420*
70	36315*	02071	00981	24551
eig	6.90880	3.28260	2.53059	1.71198
pct	47.9	22.7	17.5	11.9
cum	47.9	70.6	88.1	100.0
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they loaded. Therefore I discarded Qs. 22, 28, 37, 54, 56, 58, 59 and 65. Of these Q22 had never shown significance even as a specific factor in the initial analysis of the 14 factors. Qs. 54, 56 and 59 showed earlier as specific factors and 28, 37, 58 and 65 loaded significantly on other factors.

Of the remaining variables four dimensions identified a general factor of 12 variables formed the strongest dimension and three common factors consisting of 10, 8 and 5 variables respectively formed the other dimensions.

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**Table 7-4:** Loadings for the analysis limited to 4 factors

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Var. F1.		Var. F2.		Var. F3.		Var. F4.	
-----		-----		-----		-----	
27A	87036	42	71308	57	70875	67	78841
26A	85079	41	66008	64	58581	68	70918
27B	79342	33	60729	62	51321	66	54233
21A	77566	34	58439	51	50467	69	50420
25A	73936	40	55606	53	49841	29	35698
26B	72751	44	44944	50	48272		
25B	64815	36	44898	63	44251		
21B	61313	32	41732	55	40986		
48	48260	61	40246				
66	42402	35	38200				
70	36315						
60	36234						
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F1 has twelve loadings ranging from .87036 or 75.7% to .36234 or 13.1% of the shared variance. Eight of these loadings are above 37.6% and therefore form the focus for that dimension. The remaining four are on the lower end of the scale and so do not contribute as much to the dimension. F2 has ten loadings ranging from .71308 or 50.8% to .38200 or 14.6% of the shared variance. The first five of these create the focus for this dimension. F3 has eight loadings with ranges from

.70875 or 50.2% to .44251 or 19.6% of the shared variance. The focus is determined by the first two loadings, however the next four contribute significantly as well. F4 has five loadings ranging from .78841 or 62.2% to .35698 or 12.7% of the shared common variance. The first two of these loadings create the focus. Each dimension is within the guidelines of three loadings for a dimension for each factor.

To interpret these dimensions as set by the factors I will return to the questionnaire and group the variables according to their loadings and rankings under each of the factors. A general characteristic for all of these dimensions is that they are evaluative. Since the emphasis here is to establish ingroup awareness so as to verify or deny the existence of the three data dialect communities each dimension has a slightly different focus. F1 and F4 contrast ingroup/outgroup awareness placing greater emphasis on the outgroup. F2 and F3 focus on ingroup perception. If ingroup awareness in terms of one or any of the three dialects exists it will be contrasted by the mean differences in the recorded responses.

## F1. Dimension:

- 
- Att27A. How would you rate the English spoken by Bay Bulls people?
- Att26A. How would you rate the English spoken by Pouch Cove people?
- Att27B. How would you rate the English spoken by Bay Bulls people?
- Att21A. In general, how would you rate the English spoken by Newfoundlanders?
- Att25A. How would you rate the English spoken by St. John's people?
- Att26B. How would you rate the English spoken by Pouch Cove people?
- Att25B. How would you rate the English spoken by St. John's people?
- Att21B. In general, how would you rate the English spoken by Newfoundlanders?
- Att48. How you ever felt critical about the kinds of English other Newfoundlanders speak?
- Att66. How would you rate the English of Newfoundland students in general?
- Att70. How do you rate the English of people who speak on the local 'Open Line Programs', e.g., Bas Jamieson's program?
- Att60. I am as frequently aware of how a person speaks, as I am of what he says.

The notion underlying these questions is to have respondents evaluate speakers from neighboring dialect areas using a 'geo-dialectal' perspective. Respondents were able to contrast their attitudes toward their own dialect with those toward speakers of two nearby dialects. It is the evaluating of dialects, the first eight variables, which sets the focus of this dimension.

## F2. dimension:

- 
- Att42. How important is it to write 'educated Newfoundland English' in your community?
- Att41. How important is it to speak 'educated Newfoundland English' in your community?
- Att33. Do you speak this variety of English?
- Att34. If so, how well do you speak this variety of English?
- Att40. Do you speak this 'educated speech'?
- Att44. Would it be an advantage in your job or studies to speak an 'educated Newfoundland English'?
- Att36. Is this kind of English identical to or different from that spoken by those people who speak 'the more acceptable variety of English' mentioned in Q28?
- Att32. Could this variety of English be used as a model for teaching our children in school?
- Att61. When I speak I am as concerned with how I say something as I am with what I am saying.
- Att35. Is there a kind of 'educated Newfoundland English' such as that which might be used in schools?

The idea forming the basis of this dimension is 'language standard awareness'. It is quality of language perceived to be spoken by the respondents themselves in their dialect area. An extension of this dimension was to say something about the existence of a 'regional standard'. In the questionnaire I attempted to distinguish between 'acceptable' and 'educated' Newfoundland English as two possible varieties operating within the speech community. The first factor analysis producing fourteen factors distinguished between the two varieties by loading the particular variables separately. However when I restricted the analysis to four factors both groups loaded under the same factor creating a single dimension. The emphasis on 'educated Newfoundland English' which is the focus of the first five variables determines the strength of this dimension.



## F3. Dimension:

- 
- Att57. Do you ever feel self-conscious about the variety of English you speak when you are with superiors?
- Att64. I sometimes feel depressed by my own inability to speak 'good English'.
- Att62. I often do things which others regard as unconventional, like speak differently.
- Att51. Do you change from one variety of English to another depending upon the person(s) you are speaking with?
- Att53. Have you ever been criticized for the kind of English you speak?
- Att50. Have you ever found yourself or members of your family speaking this way?
- Att63. I frequently imitate the way other people speak, if I think they are more educated than I am.
- Att55. Have you ever felt uncomfortable among other Newfoundlanders because of the variety of English you speak?

The questions in this dimension were designed to consider how respondents might react to criticism and situations in which they might feel linguistically insecure. Tajfel (1974) pointed out that it was important to have a positive self-appraisal to make the ingroup more definitive. These questions emphasize this introspective awareness. Although the first two variables have the greatest share of common variance, the next six strongly contribute to the overall dimension giving it a clear focus of linguistic security.

## F4. Dimension:

- 
- Att67. How do you rate the English of Newfoundland teachers in general?
- Att68. How do you rate the English of Newfoundland store-clerks in general?
- Att66. How would you rate the English of Newfoundland students in general?
- Att69. How do you rate the English of Newfoundland members of Government?
- Att29. Are these people generally more educated than yourself, or less educated?

The focus in this 'socio-dialectal' dimension is to have respondents evaluate speakers from a few occupational groups. The chosen categories are based on those selected for the sample creating an ingroup/outgroup contrast as in F1. This is the weakest of the four dimensions with the first two variables determining the focus. Hereafter each dimension will be identified according to the name attributed to it above. Qs. 21 to 27 (F1) is the 'geo-dialectal' dimension, Qs. 28 to 44 (F2) is the 'language standard awareness' dimension, Qs. 45 to 65 (F3) is the 'linguistic security' dimension and Qs. 66 to 70 (F4) is the 'socio-dialectal' dimension.

Judging from the alignment of the above factors with the questions from the questionnaire to form these factors it is evident that the intuitive groupings in the original structure are reflected very strongly in the above four dimensions. For example, Qs. 21 to 27 in the questionnaire focused on evaluating respondents' attitudes to Newfoundland English in general and to three geographical dialects in specific. All of these questions plus three others, grouped in F1. Qs. 28 to 34 attempted to identify 'acceptable Newfoundland English'. Three of these questions grouped in the initial analysis as F5. However when I limited the number of factors this group was deleted because of factorial complexity. Qs. 35 to 44 focused on 'educated Newfoundland English' and of these six variables grouped to form F2. As well the three variables Qs. 32, 33 and 34 which grouped to form 'acceptable Newfoundland English' initially reloaded on this dimension. Thus

where I had originally proposed two dimensions for these groups of questions ultimately they grouped together to form F2, a dimension on 'regional standard'. This was not surprising since I anticipated that the distinction between 'acceptable' and 'educated' Newfoundland English was a fine one and one not likely to be made by most respondents. The fact that they fell together is proof of this. Qs. 45 to 65 centered on self-analysis and linguistic security. Eight of these questions grouped to form F3. Qs. 66 to 70 evaluated social dialects. Only three of these five questions grouped to form F4. Of the five intuitive groupings designed for the questionnaire four of them showed up distinctively through factor analysis. The other loaded where I had anticipated it. This is a very strong indicator that the dimensions proposed for examination were indeed those identified according to the factors shown. Graphical presentations of rotated orthogonal factors as determined by the four factors are presented in appendix I.

### **7.3. An analysis of Part II data**

The next step was a One-way analysis of variance to test the linearity produced by the subprogram Breakdown. Through this procedure I was able to compute the mean scores for each of the factors as broken down by geographical and social groups. The One-way analysis of variance tested for significant differences based on means scores among the subgroups.

If the means are not found to be significantly different, users cannot reject the hypothesis that the true subpopulation means are equal and that the deviations which occur are the result of sampling error. Conversely, if it is found that the means are significantly different, users can reject the hypothesis that the true subpopulation means are equal (Nie et al., 1970:259).

For analysis I used three a posteriori contrast tests, systematic procedures for comparing all possible pairs of group means. Groups are divided into homogeneous subsets based on whether there is a significant difference between the means of any two groups within that subset. I used three different tests in the analysis to allow for a range of discrimination :the Duncan's multiple range test, the Student-Newman-Keuls(SNK) and Scheffe's tests. These tests range in order

of decreasing power with Duncan being the most liberal and Scheffe's being the most conservative. The reason for using the range here is to give full scope to the Seary et al. investigation. Because I was testing the continuous existence of these dialects through attitudes awareness I wanted to offer the most comprehensive range for testing significant differences.

The Duncan procedure uses the concept of a special protection rather than a significance level. The probability of finding a significant difference, providing the two groups are equal, is less than or equal to the specified significance level. Duncan is approximate if different range values are used for different size subsets. It holds the experimentwise error rate to alpha for test involving the same number of means. Generally the Duncan test is considered too liberal for meaningful significance in social psychology. However in language studies where any differences may be worth considering it may have greater value. Student-Newman-Keuls is approximate if the group sizes are unequal. This is the more moderate test and is considered to be between the extremes of the Duncan and Scheffe test. Scheffe has a single range value for all comparisons which is appropriate for examining all linear combinations of group means, not just pairwise comparisons. This is considered the most conservative of the three tests. Scheffe is exact even for unequal group sizes. It may overlook minimal significance differences for greater contrasts. By using these three procedures a broad discriminatory range of tests at the .01, .05 and .10 levels was made possible. As the norm for this investigation I will use Student-Newman-Keuls at the .05 level for acceptable meaningful differences. However where differences do occur at other levels and within other tests I may make some commentary.

### **7.3.1. an analysis of data by geographical groups**

Returning to the dimensions as identified I will now analyze the attitudes as expressed collectively, as well as specifically in relation to the St. John's, Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove respondents. Taking each factor separately I will follow a four step pattern for analysis: (i) discussing the focus of the dimension, (ii)

presenting and analyzing the means table for the dimension, (iii) observing the mean scores and the results of the a posteriori tests, (iv) interpreting the results. This pattern will be used throughout the remainder of the analysis.

**Table 7-5:** Mean Scores for F1, the 'geo-dialectal' dimension

Geographically	means	std dev.	variance	number
Pouch Cove	3.6310	0.7699	0.5928	28
St. John's	3.4851	0.7633	0.5827	84
Bay Bulls	3.2319	0.8506	0.7235	23
Total	3.4722	0.7839	0.6144	135

The 'geo-dialectal' dimension focuses on dialectal perception expressing positive or negative attitudes toward three Newfoundland dialects. Two views were sought from this evaluative perspective. The first view contrasted the interdialectal attitudes from ingroup/outgroup perspectives, how members of a dialect community perceive their own dialect in relation to two neighboring dialect communities. The second view sought to what degree do respondents perceive the dialect communities along the eastern coastline of the Avalon Peninsula as a homogeneous speech community. The second view is essentially an extension of the first. The mean scores will reveal the degree of positive or negative attitude expressed. The score differences will indicate whether homogeneity exists or not. If the interdialectal attitudes expressed note differences among respondents of the three data communities it will suggest that more than one speech community is perceived to exist here. However if no differences are expressed then only one speech community would seem to exist. If the latter is true then the dialect differences which formerly distinguished any one of these dialect communities from any other are no longer sufficient to create separate linguistic identities. This is not to say isoglossed dialects automatically create different speech communities. It says that the dialect features which did



exist among these three Newfoundland dialects and which might have created such a difference no longer do so. If each community of speakers saw its own ingroup as being distinctive from one or both of the other groups of dialect speakers, then it is possible that that group would see itself as being a distinctive speech community.

Table 7-5 shows close proximity for the mean scores for this dimension. The overall response of 3.4722 indicates a mildly positive response in terms of rating any one dialect different from the others. Worthy of note is the potential contrast between respondents from Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove. However the a posteriori tests did not contrast any two groups as being significantly different from one another. Only in the Duncan test and at the .10 level did Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove respondents contrast in their attitudes. The latter indicated a greater awareness of differences among the three data dialects but one which was less positive than that of the Bay Bulls respondents. Because this is such a liberal test I can say generally no two groups proved significantly different from one another in their attitudes. My reason for mentioning the more liberal results is that it reflects a levelling process where differences might have been more significant at an earlier time.

St. John's respondents did not see their neighboring dialect speakers from Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove as speaking significantly different from one another nor from themselves. Secondly, neither Bay Bulls nor Pouch Cove respondents saw differences in terms of themselves or the other two groups respectively. Considering Tajfel's (1974) observation that ingroup members would respond more positively toward themselves than toward an outgroup I can only conclude that the respondents from each of the data communities did not see each other as speaking a dialect which was strongly enough divergent from one another to create an ingroup/outgroup contrast. Hence the ingroup/outgroup contrast among these dialect communities does not exist in terms of language. Therefore it would appear that the dialect differences as noted in the Seary et al. study have

reached a point of convergence for these three data communities where respondents now see themselves as more homogeneous than heterogeneous. This view is sufficiently strong enough to constitute a single speech community for the three dialect communities along the eastern coastline of the Avalon Peninsula.

Since I have selected only one community from each of the dialect areas, Pouch Cove for the Northern Shoreline and Bay Bulls for the Southern Shoreline dialects and because both communities are geographically only short distances from St. John's, it seems reasonable to suggest that a single speech community does exist. However, I am not suggesting that this is true of the three dialect areas as isoglossed in the Seary et al. study. If I had chosen representative communities which were further removed from the St. John's area, e.g, Lower Island Cove for the Northern Shoreline dialect and Placentia for the Southern Shoreline dialect the differences might surely have proven significant. What is clear is that for those communities close to St. John's dialect levelling is taking place. Speakers of the rural dialects appear to be converging toward the urban regional standard.

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**Table 7-6:** Mean scores for F2, the 'language standard awareness' dimension

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Geographically	means	std dev.	variance	number
Pouch Cove	3.6286	0.9349	0.8740	28
St. John's	3.2048	1.1206	1.2556	84
Bay Bulls	2.6435	1.1131	1.2389	23
Total	3.1970	1.1175	1.2488	135

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How a respondent perceives his own variety of English reflects an attitude toward that variety as well as toward the speech community to which he belongs. The focus of the 'language standard awareness' dimension was also to establish whether a 'regional standard' was apparent, a prestige variety of Newfoundland

English. This ingroup awareness of a prestige variety would seem in keeping with the characteristics of an ingroup as observed by Tajfel (1974). If a standard is perceived to exist this should be reflected by the overall mean score. How it is perceived to exist should be contrasted in the mean differences of the attitudes among the three communities. Since we have accepted the contrast of urban being the 'regional standard' and rural being the 'dialect' I expected urban and rural respondents to contrast on this dimension.

Table 7-6 shows an overall score of 3.1970 which does not indicate a very positive response. It says that such a standard exists but respondents are not sure about it. The individual community scores suggest a potential contrast between Pouch Cove and Bay Bulls respondents where the latter express more positive attitudes. The results of the a posteriori tests contrast respondents' attitudes from Bay Bulls with those of St. John's and Pouch Cove. Although the Student-Newman-Keuls notes differences only between Bay Bulls with those of St. John's and Pouch Cove the Duncan and Scheffe tests does contrast the latter two at the .10 level as well. It is interesting to see that the more conservative Scheffe test also makes a contrast here, noting the difference to be considerable.

This significant difference in attitude awareness by Bay Bulls respondents indicates that they are more conscious of a prestige language variety, a regional standard spoken by them than are respondents from the other dialect areas. This is interesting in that the urban/rural contrast as expected gave way to a rural/rural contrast. A possible reason for this may be the non-commuter/commuter contrast of the two communities. Pouch Cove respondents commute daily to St. John's for employment and education. Other times they come for leisure activities because they are more geographically limited for access to other communities. Bay Bulls respondents are slightly more autonomous and do not have the same urban focus. There are greater employment and education opportunities within their area. As well the community is not as geographically limited in access to other rural communities along the Southern Shore. The more

positive attitude awareness of their dialect as a prestige variety might result because of greater ingroup awareness. Throughout all dimensions Bay Bulls respondents were more positive in their attitudes toward their dialect.

**Table 7-7:** Mean scores for F3, the 'linguistic security' dimension

Geographically	means	std dev.	variance	number
Pouch Cove	4.7232	1.2840	1.6486	28
St. John's	5.3750	1.1148	1.2428	84
Bay Bulls	5.0652	1.2488	1.5595	23
Total	5.1870	1.1949	1.4277	135

Because speech is such a noticeable feature of a person's behavior, it is easily observed and frequently used as a reference for criticism. As well because of our strong social instinct we tend to be very sensitive to anything which isolates us. Speech is the one feature which can quickly put us outside of any social group: (i) in the way we perceive the variety of language we speak, (ii) in the way in which it is perceived by others and (iii) in how others react to the variety of language we speak. For that reason we may be reluctant to accept criticism of our speech or even to acknowledge that we have been criticized. All of this centers on how secure we feel about the variety of language that we speak.

The overall mean score of 5.1870 in table 7-7 indicates that respondents mildly deny feeling linguistically insecure about the variety of language that they speak. For individual community scores St. John's respondents expressed the greater security and Pouch Cove respondents indicated the least. The mean difference suggests a potential contrast between these two communities. The Student-Newman-Keuls test at the .05 level contrasted Pouch Cove and St. John's respondents as significantly different. This was the only contrast produced throughout the range of tests at any of the discriminatory levels. This was not an



unexpected response. Urban respondents speaking the 'regional standard' usually express more positive attitudes toward their speech than do rural speakers of a 'dialect' or a less prestigious variety of the language.

Therefore the significant difference here might be explained by the contacts between rural and urban respondents during times of employment and education. During such times the awareness of even slight dialectal differences emphasized by the context in which they occur may cause more negative or positive attitudes to be expressed. It was evident in the sample that the levels of education varied among the respondents from rural to urban communities. Since Bay Bulls respondents had less contact with urban speakers and enjoyed a slightly greater sense of autonomy within their own community their attitudes would be more positive and hence it would result in greater linguistic security. As well respondents from Bay Bulls have greater contact with a larger number of their own dialect speakers along the Southern Shoreline and this might also help to enforce this security.

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**Table 7-8:** Means scores for F4, the 'socio-dialectal dimension

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Geographically	means	std dev.	variance	number
Pouch Cove	3.0714	1.1225	1.2599	28
St. John's	3.1595	1.0883	1.1844	84
Bay Bulls	2.8174	1.1582	1.3415	23
Total	3.0830	1.1061	1.2235	135

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The 'socio-dialectal' dimension evaluates the speech of a few social occupations contrasting their attitudes with those of geographical speakers in the first dimension. The questions here deal specifically with different occupational groups within the community which are stratified to reflect three levels: upper class occupations (UCO), middle class occupations (MCO) and lower class



occupations (LCO). These categories are dealt with again in the 'non-factor' questions to follow. Social stratification in speech in this geographical area although existing in 'cultivated St. John's English' is not easily identified.

Although respondents express mildly positive attitudes in evaluating the speech of these occupational groups in table 7-8, great differences do not seem to exist among them. No significant differences were contrasted by the a posteriori tests, not even at the Duncan .10 level test. Hence respondents do not differ from one another in how they perceive the speech of the occupational speakers presented. This suggests that social dialectal differences based on occupation do not exist.

### **7.3.2. an analysis of data by social groups**

The analysis in this section centers on the four factorial dimensions and the six social groups: administrators, teachers, employers, parents, students and employees. The nature of the contrast changes likewise, for I will now compare differences among occupational groups making them 'inter-occupational' rather than 'interdialectal'. Because the above groups varied considerably in educational backgrounds differences were expected here where they were not seen in the geographical groups. Since the numbers in these social groups were small I did not factor analyzed them separately. Because I had already identified the focus of the dimensions I will restrict my analysis here to the means tables and to the results of the a posteriori tests.

No social group contrasted significantly with any other group using either the Student-Newman-Keuls test at the .05 level or with the more liberal and conservative Duncan or Scheffe, tests. The overall mean score of 3.4722 in table 7-9 noted respondents expressed mildly positive attitudes toward speakers of the data dialects. Students were the most positive about the quality of the speech and employers were least positive. Because socially no ingroup awareness is shown to exist, no ingroup/outgroup contrast occurs either. Therefore I am dealing,

**Table 7-9:** Mean scores for F1, the 'geo-dialectal' dimension

socially	means	std dev.	variance	number
administrators	3.7121	0.9379	0.8798	11
employees	3.5185	0.8032	0.7977	27
parents	3.4144	0.8520	0.7260	36
students	3.3667	0.5958	0.3550	40
teachers	3.4222	0.6610	0.4370	15
employers	4.0000	0.9443	0.8917	6
Total	3.4722	0.7839	0.6144	135

essentially with a single group awareness. Comparing this social group attitude with that from the individual communities, neither expresses an awareness of significant difference among the data dialects. Therefore I can say that from this social perspective that only a single speech community is operating for the east coastline of the Avalon Peninsula.

**Table 7-10:** Mean scores for F2, the 'language standard awareness' dimension

socially	means	std dev.	variance	number
administrators	2.2818	0.7427	0.5516	11
employees	3.4296	1.0224	1.0452	27
parents	3.1333	1.2479	1.5571	36
students	3.4550	1.0886	1.1851	40
teachers	3.0467	1.0426	1.0870	15
employers	2.8667	0.9201	0.8467	6
total	3.1970	1.1175	1.2488	135

In table 7-10, respondents are mildly positive about speaking a 'standard' variety of Newfoundland English. Administrators are the most positive on the

above table and students the least positive. The Student-Newman-Keuls test contrasted administrators with employees and students for this dimension. Administrators view their speech as more positive and hence as a more prestigious variety of Newfoundland English. Based on the educational differences of the three groups as identified in the sample this is an acceptable and expected result. Students' might be expected to have less positive attitudes about their language because they find themselves in learning environments which tend to be critical about language. Using the Duncan test at the .05 level parents grouped with employees and students. The Scheffe test at the same .05 level did not contrast any groups as being meaningfully different.

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**Table 7-11:** Mean scores for F3, the 'linguistic security' dimension

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socially	means	std dev.	variance	number
administrators	5.8409	0.6664	0.4440	11
employees	5.4120	1.1913	1.4192	27
parents	5.3681	1.2814	1.6419	36
students	4.5531	1.1337	1.2852	40
teachers	5.3583	0.9448	0.8926	15
employers	5.6875	0.9610	0.9234	6
total	5.1870	1.1949	1.4277	135

---

In table 7-11 all groups have expressed positive attitudes about the variety of English they speak and how they react to language criticism. Of these students were the least linguistically secure with a 4.5531 mean score and administrators and teachers were significantly more secure with mean scores of 5.8409 and 5.6875 respectively. The Student-Newman-Keuls test at the .05 level verified this difference noting administrators to be significantly more linguistically secure than students. In the Duncan .05 level test students also contrasted with all other groups and in the Scheffe .05 level test, no two groups were significantly different.

Therefore students were more linguistically insecure than any of the other groups. Again this is not a surprising result particularly since students find themselves in an environment of learning where they are usually made more language conscious through expression and writing.

**Table 7-12:** Means scores for F4, the 'socio-dialectal' dimension

socially	means	std dev.	variance	number
administrators	3.6000	1.3236	1.7520	11
employees	2.9481	1.1722	1.3741	27
parents	2.7889	1.1027	1.2159	36
students	2.9200	0.8324	0.6929	40
teachers	3.7467	1.1892	1.4141	15
employers	3.9333	0.7448	0.5547	6
total	3.0830	1.1061	1.2235	135

The mean scores in Table 7-12 indicate that all occupational groups expressed positive attitudes toward the varieties of English spoken by the different groups in this dimension ;teachers, store-clerks, students and Members of Government. Administrators expressed the most positive attitudes in this dimension and students indicated the least positive attitudes. Neither the Student-Newman-Keuls nor the Scheffe noted differences between any of the groups. However Duncan .05 contrasted parents with administrators, teachers and employers.

#### 7.4. An analysis of the non-factor questions

Twelve questions in the questionnaire were of multiple-choice design and because responses to them were not made on graded scales, these questions could not be factor analyzed. The purpose of these questions was to further explore attitudes toward specific contexts and to check for consistency in others.

Eight of the twelve questions are worth noting briefly. Four others have been discarded since they had nothing meaningful to contribute to the analysis. Because the sample was restricted to a native long-term-resident population Q23 enquired about the native status of the respondents. 91.6% of the St. John's respondents identified their speech with that of their own community, only 61% of Bay Bulls and 68% of Pouch Cove respondents did the same. 17.4% of Bay Bulls and 28.6% of Pouch Cove respondents identified with St. John's as well. Yet these respondents have identified themselves as being natives of the community for which they were chosen. In the case of the rural respondents this clearly expresses a lack of ingroup identity and this might help to account for the lack of differences in the 'geo-dialectal' dimension. Q24 enquired as to which of the three communities spoke the 'best English'. St. John's English was strongly preferred receiving 81.4% of all respondents. 1.2% and 5.8% chose Pouch Cove and Bay Bulls respectively. Although the difference appears significant for this question, in the overall dimension such a distinction was not evident.

Qs. 30, 39, 43 and 46 attempt to elicit attitudes toward varieties of Newfoundland English using an occupational scale with UCO, MCO and LCO as identified above. Each occupation was ranked according to the scale using the Blishen (1957) and other local occupational indexes, e.g., MCO is represented by radio announcers. The responses to these questions follow.

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**Table 7-13:** Responses to occupational scale questions

Qs.	30	39	43	46
UCO	24.8	75.7	79.5	9.0
MCO	57.5	9.2	5.8	28.6
LCO	11.0	2.4	5.3	48.6
percentages				

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Q30 enquired about 'acceptable Newfoundland English', Qs. 39 and 43 enquired about 'educated Newfoundland English'. Contrasting the responses to this multiple type question with those to the factor analyzed differential scale questions, the distinction between the varieties is clearer here with UCO speaking 'educated' and MCO speaking 'acceptable' Newfoundland English. In restricting the number of factors in the analysis I lost this distinction. Q46 enquired about the identity of respondents' own speech on this occupation scale. Surprisingly the majority of respondents selected LCO. The potential problem with these questions is the reliability of the occupational scales. In spite of efforts to construct a valid scale it is difficult to know whether the selection was meaningful for the place and time, especially since occupations constantly change social status.

Qs. 31 and 38 attempted to identify varieties of Newfoundland English with institutions, e.g, home or school. However the responses to these questions failed to clearly identify a meaningful institution. Q47 revealed 49.6% of the respondents claimed to write 'educated Newfoundland English'; 44.1% admitted to writing 'acceptable English'. Finally, responses to Qs. 45, 47, 49 and 52 did not prove meaningful for any aspect of the analysis. These were discarded. Therefore of the fifty-four questions to which responses were elicited, forty of them have been used in the above analysis. Ten questions have been discarded because they have not contributed meaningfully either in the factor analysis or in this section of the questionnaire.

### **7.5. A summary of the analysis for Part II**

In summary to Part II of the questionnaire, of the fifty-four questions designed to elicit interdialectal attitude responses only thirty-nine of these were necessary and/or meaningful. By necessary I mean of the forty-two questions factor analyzed only thirty-five questions were necessary to achieve the same information. By meaningful I mean of the twelve multiple choice questions only six of these provided useful information about the sample. Therefore I could

have achieved the same results with forty-one questions. This is getting rid of the ineffective attitude statements as mentioned by Thurstone, Guttman and Likert. As well instead of using the multiple choice type questions the same information could have been obtained through the use of a question design using graded scales. This would have eliminated the multiple choice questions altogether and would have meant that the information elicited in these would have also been tested for reliability through the factor analytic process.

For the forty-two variables factor analyzed four dimensions were found to be underlying thirty-four of the questions. These broke down into a general factor of 12 loadings and three common factors of 10, 8, and 5 loadings respectively. Because only forty-two variables were used in this investigation the loadings on the dimensions by necessity were small. In future studies using this technique I would prefer to increase the number of variables so as to strengthen the dimensions revealed. Nonetheless the 4 factors noted are valid in every way and suitable for analysis. They fall within all the guidelines for the factor analytic technique.

The variable loadings for each of the dimensions :geo-dialectal, language standard awareness, linguistic security and socio-dialectal identify with the structured groupings of the questionnaire. This confirmation proves that the questions used in this investigation to elicit interdialectal attitudes were indeed measuring what they were proposed to do. This is an inherent reliability feature of the technique. Had the dimensions and the structured groups not paralleled one another I would have to say that there was no evidence to show that what I was attempting to measure was indeed what was measured.

## Chapter 8

# QUESTIONNAIRE DATA: PARTS III AND IV

### 8.1. Introduction

Parts III and IV of the questionnaire sought to contrast responses to immediate stimuli with the 'sustained attitudes' expressed in Part II. These two sections of the questionnaire were not conceived initially as part of the investigation, however in an attempt to be more comprehensive these sections were added just before the collecting of the data began. Overall the responses received give an added scope to the investigation and make the data more meaningful. In the theoretical discussion of attitude I pointed out that attitudes can be built up over a period of time or they can result from immediate stimuli. For this investigation the attitudes built up over time are 'sustained attitudes' and are considered more revealing of the person's true position toward the socially significant object. Immediate stimuli attitudes are also overt reactions but to something which might immediately influence their decision. They may as a result reflect the context in which the eliciting took place or to some other non-significant feature. Therefore they may be a one time attitude response. In such cases if the context of the significant object changes the response may also change. Therefore such attitudes may not always reflect the true position of the person expressing that view. For example, an artificial environment may cause a person to respond more conservatively or more liberally depending on the context. Eliciting attitudes built up over a period of time is seen as being more reflective of the respondents' true attitude position. What is expected is that respondents' attitudes toward their dialects as built up over a period of time are considerably

different from their attitudes to actual samples of their dialects presented to them for immediate reactions.

The data from Parts III and IV of the questionnaire are brought together for analysis in this Chapter because they both deal with syntactic features in the data dialects. Part III looks at the written language, Part IV centers on written samples of the spoken dialects. In both sections respondents were asked to express their attitudes to these samples of the language on a three point graded scale using the bi-polar adjectives of 'acceptable' and 'non-acceptable'. No attempt was made to isolate particular features of the dialects, I simply made sure that the samples chosen were written or spoken by local speakers from each of the dialects and that they were considered by respondents to reflect these dialects without extreme. Each part of the questionnaire consisted of fifteen statements as written or spoken by the native informant. These were subdivided to include five samples from each of the three dialects. Qs. 1 to 5 are samples from Pouch Cove informants, Qs. 6 to 10 are selected from Bay Bulls informants and Qs. 11 to 15 come from St. John's informants. Responses to both parts were grouped together and factor analyzed using the same step procedures as outlined in Chapter 7.1..

## **8.2. Syntactic features from the data dialects**

"A clear-cut boundary around key lexical and grammatical items is not so discernible as one demarcating pronunciation" (Seary et al., 1968:63). Similarly for grammar, only a small number of forms were noted. However these were not thought to be restricted to any one dialect. Because the Seary et al. investigation revealed few lexical items and fewer still grammatical features I decided to use 'colloquial' samples of speech recorded in a pre-study to this investigation, as well as samples of writing produced by a number of dialect speakers. As will be seen in the colloquial language a number of grammatical features were found. They represent the general variety of language as spoken and written in the areas. Following is a presentation of these samples as they appeared in the questionnaire.



Comments are made under each sample to point out the particular syntactic feature(s).

# SPOKEN SAMPLES:

Pouch Cove:

- 
- S1. Will they give you anything on that to show that you owns it?
- (i) Although this is an example of subject/verb agreement in the 'regional standard' and unacceptable in educated speech, it is quite common in spoken rural and urban speech. It is generally accepted among common speakers.
- S2. But then the plough usen' to come down then every so often as it do now.
- (i) "Usen't" is a modal here, with the final (t) left off in colloquial speech.
- (ii) 'Ever so often' is expressed here as "every so often".
- (iii) "Do" reflects subject/verb agreement.
- (vi) Repetition of "then" and the verb "do" does not occur in 'regional standard'.
- S3. Never heard of him. Where's that to, Slade?
- (i) Grammatically acceptable, however, the nuance of meaning gained by using "to" does not warrant its use.
- S4. Maybe the road be blocked in for two or three days before you get back to work.
- (i) Phonologically, unstressed 'would' in "be blocked" can be reduced to [əd] or [d] after /d/, as in 'road'. It could appear as if it were not there: [d] + [d] = [d]. The speaker may say that it is there. So, if spoken this sentence would be acceptable. As it is written it would probably be rejected.
- S5. No, Jack was only pensioned there a couple a year ago.



- (i) Unstressed 'of' before /j/ goes to [ə]; unstressed "a" is also [ə]. Since both prepositions and determiners occur before nouns, "a" could seem to be a logical choice, disregarding the use of "couple", of course. Similar to S4, as spoken it would be acceptable; but as it is written, there might be some objections.

#### Bay Bulls:

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- S6. And he'll do anything he can for to nail it anyway he can.
  - (i) Non-standard "to nail" is object of the preposition "for". "For to nail" is adverbial. But standard English recognizes the adverbial without "for".
- S7. I'm after being in twice with a delegation to a meeting in there.
  - (i) "'m after being" (be+after+V-ing) is the 'Irish after-perfect', non-standard English in Newfoundland.
- S8. He done a savage thing, poor old Anthony did.
  - (i) The past participle is used as simple past. It is probably more acceptable than not.
- S9. There's all Liberal in River Head and Mall Bay apparently.
  - (i) 'All Liberals is there' is pre-posting "there" with extra stress.
- S10. Great big old condenser, without someone was smart to get it up over the bank.
  - (i) "Without" is usually 'unless', 'enough' usually follows "smart".

#### St. John's:

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- S11. Sometimes when you get a kid he don't like

this and he don't like that.

- (i) Here we have two examples of subject and verb agreement.

S12. He was out to Harbour Grace and he had a real sunny day.

- (i) This is acceptable regional standard English.

S13. She treat him when he was here, probably just like she'd Sandra or Ron.

- (i) The [əd] is never stressed here. Syncope, loss of unstressed syllables, occurs. /d/ assimilates voiceless feature of preceding /t/ and thereby sounds identical to it. It sounds as if [əd] were left off.

S14. Remember that pond we were looking off in the distance at.

- (i) "At" is alright here; 'which' after "pond" has been suppressed and this is also permissible. This sentence would be acceptable.

S15. We had a boil-up and lay back on the skidoos and had a rest.

- (i) This is acceptable regional standard English.

#### WRITTEN SAMPLES:

Pouch Cove:

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W1. Now, the majority of people work in St. John's on construction work.

- (i) "On" construction might contrast with 'in' or 'at'; otherwise this sentence is acceptable.

W2. Each person should stick with their religion and save themselves from disagreement with his fellow man.

- (i) This is a case of pronoun agreement.
- W3. It was only by chance Steve meets Joan.
- (i) Historical present is used here.
- W4. I think I must of had a jinks.
- (i) Unstressed 'have' is interpreted as a preposition. More acceptable spoken than written.
- W5. Most types of work repulses me.
- (i) We have here subject/verb agreement.
- Bay Bulls:  
-----
- W6. I couldn't understand a word they said.
- (i) This is an acceptable regional standard sentence.
- W7. He was ignorant to the facts.
- (i) Non-standard use of "to", "ignorant" usually follows with 'of'.
- W8. Only at the end do he suspect any difference.
- (i) This is subject/verb agreement.
- W9. There was a few people in the room but I seen no-one I knew.
- (i) Again, we have subject/verb agreement.
  - (ii) "Seen" in standard English is past participle rather than past tense.
- W10. Many people I know enjoys the life of the university.
- (i) Subject/verb agreement occurs.
  - (ii) Technically, 'pedantically', 'whom' which is object of the verb "knows" is the proper form. The difference between the objective and subjective forms is collapsing.

St. John's:

-----  
W11. These kind of books should not be used in school.

- (i) Number agreement is necessary.

W12. We done it last year.

- (i) Past participle is used as past simple tense.

W13. Articles, as the one found in yesterday's paper, influence people.

- (i) If the intonation, expressed with commas, is appropriate, then the use of "as" as an adverb here is acceptable in some instances. Standard Canadian would use 'like' as a preposition with the commas.

W14. Not one of the people were happy about the ships.

- (i) Subject/verb agreement occurs.

W15. Today, merchant vessel or whaling ships has gone out to sea in search of whales.

- (i) "Out" is not necessary, either as an adverbial tied to the verb, or as a member of a compound preposition 'out to', but it is not incorrect.
- (ii) Semantic difficulty occurs in the use of "today" with "have gone". Since "today" is used, 'go' seems to be expected. The connection with the past, inherent in the use of "have gone", feels wrong. But, it is acceptable in certain contexts.

### **8.3. Factor analysis applied to Parts III and IV**

Because Parts III and IV continued to use graded scales factor analysis was again made possible to seek underlying patterns of relationships. Thus the data would be ordered to smaller sets of components for a more meaningful analysis. I selected samples to represent two dimensions for consideration, the spoken

language and written language. The primary concern therefore was to confirm whether I was actually measuring attitudes in these dimensions. Again because of sample size respondents were treated as a single group with a 135 cases read for each variable. The number of variables thirty was acceptable because it fell between the limits of twenty and fifty (Kaiser's criterion for reliability). The varimax rotated factor matrix produced six factors for the variables submitted, a general factor for the best summary of linear relationships exhibited in the data and five common factors.

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**Table 8-1:** A general analysis allowing for  
unlimited factors

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Factors:	eigenvalue	pct of var	cum pct
1	9.03471	57.8%	57.8%
2	2.43771	15.6	73.4
3	1.47147	9.4	82.8
4	1.12806	7.2	90.0
-	-----	----	----
5	0.83406	5.3	95.3
6	0.72761	4.7	100.0

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Since factors with eigenvalues of less than 1.0000 are considered insignificant I discarded F5 and F6. This is indicated by the line drawn after F4 in table 8-1. Thus we have four significant factors. The degrees of common variance accounting for the interrelationship among variables is 90%. This is well above the general norm of 60%. Significance for factor loadings was set at .35 as in Part I.

Table 8-2 shows the loadings for these four factors.

The first noticeable feature in this table is that the factor loadings have fallen generally into two groups ;those aligned with written samples of the language, W1



**Table 8-2:** Factor loadings for the unlimited factor analysis

Var.	F1.	F2.	F3.	F4.
W1.	06183	56336*	02465	08275
W2.	10362	58799*	38545*	10376
W3.	24436	15773	16105	08732
W4.	24576	32281	10063	07923
W5.	13745	25744	35522*	18934
W6.	12818	25144	03841	00370
W7.	11179	57564*	18710	09590
W8.	18784	14536	69062*	03031
W9.	17965	28977	29945	50831*
W10.	09435	41254*	50652*	16061
W11.	01878	68596*	17879	10035
W12.	09812	27522	19835	25911
W13.	16848	67158*	19028	00757
W14.	25517	53182*	05169	15718
W15.	03727	23519	63254*	28633
S1.	52250*	13337	24391	27440
S2.	42408*	09920	13746	66432*
S3.	36363*	06767	27746	60975*
S4.	57000*	00567	36842*	32416
S5.	54517*	14570	07582	43980*
S6.	58766*	03468	06497	00951
S7.	52502*	24860	08162	18491
S8.	50777*	07132	19814	31231
S9.	61998*	36746	02665	13865
S10.	53942*	06247	14791	05179
S11.	40973*	20088	25064	33307
S12.	61581*	08789	07818	12973
S13.	65672*	03163	41712*	03399
S14.	58786*	02536	18077	01150
S15.	55439*	17771	15113	14489

to 15, and those aligned with spoken samples of the language, S1 to 15. There is greater dispersement among the written samples to suggest that smaller dimensions are being noted. For the spoken samples beyond some complexity the

dimension is clearly defined. Hence it appears that what I attempted to measure was indeed being measured.

More specifically, using plus or minus 0.35 as the minimum significant value for each loading, twenty-six variables loaded significantly on four factors. F1 has 15 loadings ranging from a low of .36363 or 13% to .65672 or 43% of the shared variance. F2 has seven loadings ranging from .41254 or 17% to .67158 or 45% of the shared variance. F3 has five loadings ranging from .38545 or 14% to .68596 or 47% of the shared variance. F4 has four loadings ranging from .35522 or 12% to .66432 or 44% of the shared variance. If I consider the variables for each of these factors we will see that F1 and F4 have three variables with a factorial complexity of two and F2 and F3 have two variables with a factorial complexity of two. Therefore these variables loading on different factors cause those dimensions to overlap. It would seem that for F4, 3 of its four variables tie in strongly with F1, whereas the same degree of overlapping does not exist for F2 and F3. What this analysis does point out however is that the majority of variables from S1 to S15 show greater homogeneity, whereas variables W1 to W15 show greater heterogeneity. Essentially this analysis has produced a clear general factor, an acceptable common factor, a borderline common factor and an unacceptable common factor.

Because only two dimensions were structured for this part of the questionnaire and because one of these was so strongly identified Factor analysis was run again restricting the number of factors to two. What I was seeking here was a better linear presentation of the data. This restriction would mean that all variables would have to load under these two factors. Two questions were posed: would some of the dispersement among the W-loadings be eliminated in a restricted analysis and would they load significantly under the same dimension or intermingle with the S-loadings? The second factor analysis resulted in table 8-3.

An overview of table 8-3 clearly identifies the existence of two dimensions, one created by the written and the other created by the spoken data. Although

**Table 8-3:** An analysis restricted to 2 factors

Var.	F1.	F2.
W1	02983	49402*
W2	08789	54686*
W3	22187	31527
W4	35893	46258*
W5	16750	39769*
W6	09399	07868
W7	00167	63820*
W8	24446	53282*
W9	34364	61789*
W10	14598	54528*
W11	10046	60446*
W12	27196	59789*
W13	10604	57671*
W14	18124	53614*
W15	11399	62037*
S1	48259*	25980
S2	57605*	25088
S3	47464*	23372
S4	65500*	25124
S5	61595*	32952
S6	54350*	16521
S7	52528*	31588
S8	52581*	22623
S9	55297*	33318
S10	45199*	01298

table 8-3, continued

S11	55834*	38741
S12	59579*	01356
S13	67233*	01753
S14	62327*	04798
S15	53484*	11246
eig	7.95386	2.28979
pct	77.6	22.4
cum	77.6	100.

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there may be smaller and less clearly defined dimensions occurring within the written data, there is a point where the dimensions created in Factor Table 6 come together to represent what we proposed as a single written dimension. This means that the dispersement of W-variables had greater commonality with one another than they had with the S-variables. Of the thirty variables factor analyzed W3 and W6 did not load significantly on a factor nor had either of these variables loaded significantly on earlier factors. Grouping these variables along their dimensions we have table 8-4.

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**Table 8-4:** Loadings for the analysis limited to 2 factors

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Var:	F1.	Var:	F2.
S1	48259	W1	49402
S2	57605	W2	54686
S3	47464	W4	46258
S4	65500	W5	39769
S5	61595	W7	63820
S6	54350	W8	53282
S7	52528	W9	61789
S8	52581	W10	54528
S9	55297	W11	60446
S10	45199	W12	59789
S11	55834	W13	57671
S12	59579	W14	53614
S13	67233	W15	62037
S14	62327		
S15	53484		
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All fifteen samples of the spoken language loaded significantly to form the general factor F1. These loadings ranged from a low of .45199 or 20.4% to a high of .67233 or 45.2% of the shared variance. The discriminatory range was not great among these variables meaning all variables contributed approximately the same to the idea underlying the dimension. Thirteen loadings grouped to form the common factor F2. These loadings ranged from .39769 or 15.8% to .63820 or



40.7% of the shared variance. Again the differences among these loadings was not great, meaning all variables contributed equally as much to the underlying notion of the dimension.

Since I have already grouped and presented the variables in 8.1. and because that grouping is very much similar to the factor grouping above there is no need to repeat them here. For further analysis, the general factor consists of all fifteen spoken samples and will be called the 'spoken' dimension. These are attitudes toward the grammar of the spoken language as presented by speakers of each of the three dialects. The second factor consists of thirteen of the written samples and will be called the 'written' dimension. These are attitudes toward the grammar of written language as presented by writers from each of the dialects. This second analysis for the present investigation represents the structured dimensions better. Therefore I can conclude that the dimensions proposed for examination were indeed those identified according to the factor breakdown. Graphical presentation of rotated factors as determined by the two factors is presented in appendix J.

#### **8.4. An analysis of Parts III and IV data**

As in the analysis of Part II the same three a posteriori tests procedures for comparing all possible pairs of group means were used to seek contrasts, Duncan, Student-Newman-Keuls and Scheffe. Similarly the ranges for discrimination were also used, .10 to .01 where applicable. The Student-Newman-Keuls .05 test level was held to be the acceptable level for meaningful contrasts. Both dimensions will be considered here, first according to geographical groups and secondly according to social or occupational groups. Taking each factor separately I will use the following pattern for analysis: (i) discussing the focus of the dimension, (ii) presenting and analyzing the means table, (iii) observing the mean scores and the results of the a posteriori tests, and (iv) interpreting the results.

#### 8.4.1. An analysis of data by geographical groups

The subprogram Breakdown produced means table 8-5 according to each of the geographical groups: Bay Bulls, Pouch Cove and St. John's.

**Table 8-5:** Mean scores for F1, the 'spoken' dimension

Geographically	means	std dev.	variance	number
Pouch Cove	2.2500	0.4207	0.1770	28
St. John's	2.4504	0.4957	0.2457	84
Bay Bulls	2.3587	0.4039	0.1632	23
Total	2.3932	0.4703	0.2211	135

The 'spoken' dimension focuses on respondents' attitudes toward spoken samples of each of the three dialects as they appear in writing. This is a restricted form of presentation and might result in stronger reactions to the spoken dialects because they appear without accompanying explanations. Obviously certain features of the spoken language are more acceptable in their spoken form than in a written one. However because we are dealing with attitudes here rather with syntactical analysis, because we have written samples of the language to be evaluated as well, and because we not are contrasting the attitudes of Part II with Parts III and IV I have decided to use this data in its present form. Again I am seeking differences in attitudes among the dialect communities to establish ingroup/outgroup contrasts. If respondents vary in their attitudes to the language samples it would suggest that different standards are operating within the particular speech area. However based on my findings in Part II of the questionnaire I am not expecting significant differences to occur.

Table 8-5 shows close proximity among the mean scores. An overall response of 2.3932 says that the spoken samples of the language as presented in this investigation are not very acceptable. No differences are significant according to

the tests contrasted not even at the most liberal Duncan .10 test level. Therefore respondents from all three communities have expressed negative attitudes toward their spoken language as presented. They are unacceptable as spoken forms. Since these are examples from the respondents' own language I can conclude that their perception of their language as covered by the four dimensions in Part II is somewhat different from their reactions to the real thing.

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**Table 8-6:** Mean scores for F2, the 'written' dimension

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Geographically	means	std dev.	variance	number
Pouch Cove	2.5786	0.3615	0.1307	28
St. John's	2.5754	0.4289	0.1840	84
Bay Bulls	2.6116	0.4048	0.1639	23
Total	2.5822	0.4091	0.1674	135

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The 'written' dimension centers on respondents' attitudes toward written samples of each of the three dialects. The samples here need not be qualified other than that they occurred in the writings of several different native writers and appear as they might appear under any normal circumstances. Ingroup/outgroup contrasts continued to be the focus. Therefore variations would suggest that different standards are operating in the written language.

Mean score differences were minimal in table 8-6. An overall response of 2.5822 says respondents are equally negative in their attitudes toward the samples of the written language as being acceptable. Differences at a significant level would suggest that different standards were operating in the written language. Again no differences were found to exist even at the Duncan .10 test level. Therefore respondents from all three communities have expressed negative attitudes toward their written language as being acceptable. They say that the perception of their written language is much more positive than their reactions to the real thing.

#### 8.4.2. an analysis of data by social groups

The subprogram Breakdown produced the mean scores in table 8-7 by social occupation: administrators, teachers, student, parents, employee and employers.

**Table 8-7:** Mean scores for F1, the 'spoken' dimension

Socially	means	std dev.	variance	number
administrators	2.7348	0.2858	0.0817	11
employees	2.3241	0.5097	0.2598	27
parents	2.2801	0.5383	0.2897	36
students	2.2771	0.3709	0.1376	40
teachers	2.7278	0.3204	0.1026	15
employers	2.6944	0.3103	0.0963	6
Total	2.3932	0.4703	0.2211	135

The Student-Newman-Keuls test at the .05 level contrasted students, parents and employees as being significantly different from administrators and teachers. The more liberal Duncan test contrasted employers as well, whereas the more conservative Scheffe test contrasted only administrators. The overall mean score of 2.3932 reflects a negative attitude toward the spoken language. According to table 8-6 no one social group expressed a positive response. Therefore students, parents and employees were significantly less negative toward the samples of their spoken dialects as presented than were administrators. The more negative attitudes of the administrators are not unexpected since they are an educated group of respondents who would speak the regional standard rather than colloquial speech. Under test conditions they would naturally reject the uneducated forms.

The mean scores in table 8-7 show that all occupational groups expressed negative attitudes toward the samples in the 'written' language. No groups



**Table 8-8:** Mean scores for F2, the 'written' dimension

Socially	means	std dev.	variance	number
administrators	2.4848	0.5359	0.2872	11
employees	2.5901	0.4845	0.2348	27
parents	2.5778	0.3538	0.1252	36
students	2.5583	0.3827	0.1465	40
teachers	2.7022	0.2641	0.0698	15
employers	2.6111	0.6372	0.4061	6
Total	2.5822	0.4091	0.1674	135

contrasted with one another for significant differences not even in the more liberal Duncan tests. Therefore respondents according to social grouping express negative attitudes toward samples in the 'written' dimension. Some contrast was expected here as well because of the different educational levels of the respondents. However this did not occur.

### 8.5. A summary of the analysis for Parts III and IV

In summary to Parts III and IV of the questionnaire, of the thirty samples used in both parts, twenty-eight of these loaded significantly under different factors. The two which did not load would be discarded from any future use of these samples. They would be seen as ineffective attitude statements. Of those that did load significantly two identifiable dimensions were found to be underlying these responses. These broke down into a general factor of fifteen loadings and a common factor of thirteen loadings. Because the analysis was restricted to only two factors the numbers under each factor were high. However the important thing here was not in numbers of loadings but rather in the manner of loadings. Beyond the restriction no W-variables loaded with S-variables nor the reverse. This simply means that some point of commonality in the dimensions caused them to break in this manner. In future studies using this approach I would like to be more specific by narrowing in on particular syntactic



features, e.g., testing NP-structures with VP-structures. The use of spoken samples of language in a written form created a partially artificial situation.

The variable loadings for each of the dimensions, written and spoken, verify the questionnaire structure. This confirmation simply says that the samples used in this part of the investigation reflect the intended areas of examination. Essentially I was eliciting attitudes to what I intended to elicit attitudes to. Again the pattern of analysis was according to each of the factorial dimensions and then from the two perspectives, geographically and socially.

## Chapter 9

# CONCLUSION

### 9.1. Introduction

Inevitably, any review and investigation attempting to interrelate the definitions and theory of a concept in one discipline with the use of that concept in another even closely related discipline will have their strengths and weaknesses. To identify these in the course of writing up one's research and to deal with them appropriately is a very important aspect of the presentation. For example, reviewing and summarizing the vast attitude research of social psychologists will obviously result in some oversights. Such a review involves theorizing about attitudes at the level of a hypothetical construct which is far beyond simple observation in language research. It also meant learning a new and changing terminology for the concept outside of the discipline in which I would be investigating it. Most importantly, it meant attempting to understand a part of the research of a rather large discipline which studies human behaviour. While the theorizing and terminology were quickly adapted to, understanding and dealing with attitudes as one aspect of human behaviour presented their problems.

Beyond this a second point of consideration in writing up one's research is the importance given to the results supporting or denying the hypothesis. What emphasis should be given to this in relation to the difficulties encountered and the innovations used in the techniques for eliciting and presenting data? While focusing on the hypothesis is usually the high point of research, the methodology used frequently proves more interesting. To avoid overlooking what either might offer I will summarize the review and investigation in this final statement by

commenting on each of the following: (i) major attitude research, (ii) techniques for measuring attitudes, (iii) data area and sample, (iv) Part II, questionnaire data and (v) Parts III and IV, questionnaire data. Under each heading, I will note the main points and from there I will make a few final comments on where difficulties occurred and what I thought was achieved.

## **9.2. Major attitude research**

The two objectives of this dissertation, to review the major attitude research of social psychologists and linguists and to relate where possible this research to the present investigation, were intended to consider attitudes from their theoretical and empirical perspectives. The first part was essentially a response to Cooper and Fishman (1974) and Giles (1975) who suggested that linguists and social psychologists have much to learn from each other's research into attitudes. Accepting this as a reasonable observation, I opted for an overview of attitude research to seek a more thorough understanding of its theoretical nature. The review began with the earlier theorists' perception of attitudes as hypothetical constructs and narrowed to the linguists' perception of them as social markers for linguistic description. Although the theorists perceived many definitions for the concept, only a limited number of themes were actually expressed. These ranged from a 'readiness to respond', to 'response per se', to a division of components - 'cognitive, affective and conative'. However, the notion underlying all of these themes was the identifying of relationships between individuals and socially significant objects.

Following from this review of attitudes within its theoretical framework, I sought to find where relationships existed between the concept as perceived and investigated by theorists and the nature of attitude as identified by linguists. For the latter, I reviewed attitude in seven different contextual categories. The purpose of such a comprehensive review was to cover the scope of linguistic investigations and the areas in which attitudes were seen as important to linguistic explanations. In contrast, social psychologists and linguists, although

having the same focus approached attitudes from entirely different directions. The former was more concerned about the source of attitudes, how they were derived and how they were related to socially significant objects; the latter was concerned more with the effects of attitudes discovering them only through analysis and description of linguistic forms. Attitudes were not the focus in themselves. Why linguists never sought to acknowledge the vast attitude research of social psychologists and to call upon it in their own investigations might be best answered by Trudgill (1975). He said that language attitudes were social features and had more to do with the social structure of a community than with its language. His attitude was reflective more of the descriptive linguist than the sociolinguist.

In spite of their differences or maybe because of their differences social psychologists did overlap their research with that of linguists. They studied attitudes in the language context and in addition developed some measuring techniques which became popular among linguists. However attitude was still seen as being more the focus of their research than any language variable which might have caused that attitude. Research was carried out mainly in two areas, 'attitudes resulting from teachers' perception of students' ability' and 'attitudes reflecting interethnic behaviour'. Of these the latter was the more frequently investigated. For this investigation that context became a frame-of-reference in helping me focus more clearly on intergroup behaviour.

The review of early attitude research was very meaningful and helpful in setting up the present investigation into language attitudes within the Newfoundland speech community. From the time of the theorists the importance of the relationship between theory and experimentation was made quite clear. Not only were attitudes perceived differently by different investigators but they were also measured differently according to the theory of definition. For example, social psychologists used different techniques for measuring attitudes as 'a readiness to respond' in contrast to 'response per se'. Thus to define attitude

seemed logical before investigating it through experimentation. As well at the level of research it seemed unacceptable simply to identify the reactions of respondents in a language context as language attitudes without giving consideration as to what attitudes were. For a valid scientific investigation concepts and terminology should be clearly defined. Otherwise understanding the relationships between individuals and socially significant objects, in this case language, would result in problems.

Based on these findings I came to understand the theoretical nature of attitudes and how they were seen to include 'individual consciousness', 'activity', 'social significance' and 'evaluation'. I saw each of these characteristics as being significant in defining attitudes for the investigation. The first three features were attributed to the concept when Thomas and Znaniecki (1918) first introduced it. For the most part they also remained with it while the concept took shape. 'Taking shape' here means that the concept was ultimately seen to be overt behaviour and consisted of the evaluative component. By 'individual consciousness' I mean that attitude is part of the individual's awareness. This statement however is not to argue against the existence of 'group consciousness'. 'Activity' means that it is an action or response which can be measured overtly. 'Social significance' means that it is a response to some object, person, situation or idea which has meaning for the social group as a whole. 'Evaluative' means that attitude has judgement characteristics, it involves assessing a socially significant object in relation to other socially significant objects.

From the linguists I learned to define attitude in terms of its 'referent' and to include in that definition those characteristics which were found within the context in which it was discovered. By 'referent' I mean the context in which language attitudes were investigated as seen in chapter 3. The context used here was a Newfoundland speech community as created by the St. John's, Northern Shoreline and Southern Shoreline dialects. If certain qualifying characteristics were peculiar to the speech community investigated, e.g., sound



changes then characteristics of the context might be incorporated to define attitude. For this investigation attitude was defined to include four features as outlined by theorists and to be contextually qualified as noted by linguists. Attitude therefore is 'an overt response involving individual consciousness, activity, social significance and evaluation, and qualified by its referent, the context in which it is investigated'.

### **9.3. Measuring attitudes**

Paralleling the tradition of definitions of attitude there was a tradition of methodologies for measuring attitudes. Crucial in the reviewing of these different techniques I had to decide on a suitable instrument for this investigation. Again, the research of social psychologists provided many insights. The notion underlying most of their scales was to give a positive or negative reaction to an attitude object or situation. An essential difference among them was in their rankings along a continuum. Thurstone, Likert and Guttman proposed some of the earlier methods for measuring attitudes and common to these was the importance of eliminating ineffective attitude statements. Together they also established some of the basic principles for measuring attitudes by introducing graded scales. Later researchers Lambert, Osgood and others expanded these features within their own research while adapting to more modern technology, the computer. The latter's techniques were suitable to investigating language attitudes, although this was not their primary purpose.

Earlier researchers focused on the importance of eliminating ineffective attitude statements and this eventually introduced me to factor analysis. Osgood et al. provided a scale design for measuring attitudes which was also suitable to factor analysis. Based on their scales, I designed an instrument to allow me to test a hypothesis of casual relationships between variables, people behave in certain ways because of the perceptions they have about an attitude object. To do this I needed an instrument that reduced bias, increased reliability and permitted inferences about causality. The Likert-type scale fulfilled these

demands and formed the basis of the scale which I eventually adopted, the Osgood seven point scale with bi-polar adjectives. Since the scale originated essentially with Likert I called it the Likert-cum-Osgood scale. I saw this scale as having three essential properties: relevance, reliability and validity. A very important consideration, at this point is that my scale was designed to measure 'response', attitudes expressed overtly. This was in keeping with my attitude definition and therefore attitudes were being measured according to their theory of definition.

#### **9.4. Data area and sample**

The geographical area chosen for research was my native community of St. John's a small urban area on the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland. Its strong cultural ties to England, Scotland and Ireland plus the remnants of dialects from these countries which are found on the Avalon Peninsula made it seem like an ideal place for language attitude research. As well it was an area where I was quite familiar with the people and their language. The three communities investigated - St. John's, Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove - were chosen because they belonged to different dialect regions as identified by Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968) in their dialect survey of the Avalon Peninsula. Because the dialect differences had already been researched and established among these communities it meant I did not have to prove the existence of such differences through my own research. The basis had been provided for the hypothesis and the possibility of language attitudes occurring among these dialect speakers was good. I was able therefore to concentrate on the effects of these differences through language attitudes. This investigation adds the social dimension to an already completed descriptive language study.

I restricted the sample to native born respondents because I sought 'internal' differences among the communities. Non-native respondents usually have biased attitudes because of their belonging previously to another speech community. Besides for a small urban community St. John's has a large number of non-

native speakers and there is little doubt that speakers of, for example, the London dialect would be considered within this speech community socially more prestigious than speakers of any of the dialects investigated here. Secondly, to vary the sample beyond the simple geographical dimension mentioned, I sought some variation among social groups. The choice of these groups depended to some extent on the best way of attaining the data. Since general random sampling was very difficult to achieve, I looked for already established social structures within this community. The educational structure was immediately obvious, however it was not the best representation of the populous. Yet using the educational system as a basis, I was able to select three groups: educational administrators, teachers and students. I then paralleled these groups with employers, employees and parents. These gave a greater representative sample of the community as a whole.

In determining sample size I was guided by a number of earlier sociolinguistic investigations which tended toward keeping their samples small, e.g., Labov. This I found caused me problems when analyzing the data. Factor analysis works on the theory that the larger the numbers the greater the reliability. Small subgroups will not contrast with similar size groups. Therefore the social groups could not be factor analyzed separately. This was possible for the geographical groups. In a further study of this type I would use larger groups both geographically and socially. This would allow for an independent factor analysis on each group. For example, an independent analysis on each group instead of on the group as a whole would open for consideration the grouping of the variables for each dimension and for each group separately. In analyzing all groups together which is what I did the dimensions must remain constant. However if analyzing each group independently then there is the possibility of the variables loading differently for each group for each dimension. This would give a more precise idea of what is being measured.

### 9.5. Questionnaire data: Part II.

Because of the measuring instrument used in the questionnaire I was able to mathematically order the data through factor analysis. This procedure not only eliminated ineffective attitude statements but also identified all underlying patterns of relationships. Thus the forty-two questions in this part of the questionnaire were broken down into source variables accounting for the observed inter-relationships in the data. The options in using factor analysis were two: to explore the data for possible underlying patterns of relationships or to confirm one or more pre-set patterns of relationships. While the temptation to explore was not ignored the primary purpose was to verify the pre-set patterns of relationships. Essentially this was achieved. However the respondents had some difficulty in distinguishing between 'acceptable' and 'educated' Newfoundland English. Also because these two dimensions overlapped in the analysis I decided to analyze them as one. This reduced the number of proposed dimensions to four.

Because the group sizes were small, all one hundred and thirty-five respondents were grouped for a single analysis of their responses to the forty-two variables. Using this single grouping gave the data greater reliability. Including all cases initially the varimax rotated matrix produced fourteen factors. Low eigenvalues immediately reduced this to eight possible factors accounting for 82.3% of the common variance. By raising the percentage of shared variance for the factors so that the dimensions were socially more significant the eight acceptable factors were now reduced to five. The number of variables now excluded because of this reduction suggested a re-run of factor analysis. This was done restricting the number of factors to five. By doing this I was checking to see if any of the excluded variables would reload on any of the five dimensions. Since I had confirmed the existence of the pre-set patterns in the hypothesis I was now simply seeking the best summary of linear relationships within the data. The variables which did load significantly in this analysis and were therefore discarded were the ineffective attitude statements.



Using plus or minus 0.35 as the minimum significant value for each loading thirty-four variables loaded significantly on four factors. This meant that factor analysis had discarded eight of the forty-two original or 19% of the variables. Thus of the questions posed to elicit attitude responses to language usage a shorter questionnaire of thirty-two variables would have achieved the same results. Underlying these variables were four evaluative dimensions: (i) 'interdialectal attitudes' based on geography, (ii) 'ingroup awareness' of one's own dialect, (iii) 'self-awareness' of one's own speech and (iv) 'interdialectal awareness' based on social groups. For significant mean differences I used a range of a posteriori tests for contrast. This systematic procedure allowed for comparison of all possible pairs of group means with a rather liberal test, Duncan's multiple range test, to the rather conservative Scheffe's test.

#### **9.5.1. a summary analysis for the geographical groups**

##### **F1. the 'geo-dialectal dimension**

This dimension sought an ingroup/outgroup contrast of interdialectal attitudes among three geographical dialects: St. John's, Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove speakers. The range of a posteriori tests did not sufficiently contrast any two groups as being significantly different from one another. Although the data communities were drawn from three separately isoglossed dialects the attitudes expressed by respondents from them suggested very little contrast. It was not enough to say that they were seen by each other as three different speech regions. Based on Tajfel's (1974) observation that ingroup members would respond more positively toward themselves than toward an outgroup I can only conclude that the groups chosen for this investigation did not create this ingroup/outgroup contrast. Accepting Tajfel's hypothesis as valid I conclude therefore that the speakers from each of the dialect groups did not perceive dialect differences to be strongly enough divergent from one another to elicit this type of contrast. Therefore since the Seary et al. study of the early 1960's approximately twenty years ago, sufficient dialect levelling has taken place to erode significant



ingroup/outgroup contrasts. For two of these communities, representing peripheral geographical areas of the Northern and Southern Shoreline dialects and for the St. John's dialect I propose a single speech community. Dialect differences would be minimal and therefore not sufficient to cause interdialectal attitudes.

## F2. the 'language standard awareness' dimension

How a respondent perceives his own variety of English reflects an attitude toward that variety as well as toward the speech community to which it belongs. The 'interdialectal' focus of this dimension is found in the comparing of attitudes by each of the dialect groups about their own dialect. The range of a posteriori tests contrasted only the respondents' attitudes from Bay Bulls with those of St. John's and Pouch Cove. The significant difference in attitude awareness by Bay Bulls respondents indicated that they were more conscious of a prestige language variety, a regional standard spoken by them than were respondents from the other dialect areas. Therefore, they expressed significantly more positive attitudes toward their dialect than did St. John's and Pouch Cove respondents. In this dimension I had expected more positive attitudes from the urban respondents in St. John's simply because urban dialects tend to have more prestige. However all three groups expressed positive attitudes toward each of their respective dialects.

## F3. the 'linguistic security' dimension

The third dimension focused again on ingroup attitudes. Rather than on the group as a whole this time the focus was on the individual. Generally respondents were only mildly secure about their speech which is less positive than how they perceived their dialect as being a standard. However the difference was not meaningful between the attitudes expressed in each of these dimensions. Here the difference was significant between the St. John's and Pouch Cove respondents with the urban group being more positive. Therefore while St.

John's respondents did not rate their dialect highest in terms of being a standard, they did express significantly higher attitudes on an individual basis. Pouch Cove respondents on the other hand rated themselves lowest, but not significantly more so than the Bay Bulls respondents.

#### F4. the 'socio-dialectal' dimension

The focus here was on interdialectal attitudes based on social groups: upper, middle and lower class occupational groups. Positive attitudes were expressed by each of these groups and the range of a posteriori tests did not reveal any significant differences in the attitudes expressed. This might easily suggest that clear distinctions among these groups do not exist in these dialects. As a personal response, I would find it difficult to identify such distinctions. I could identify speakers as educated or non-educated, but not essentially according to class distinction, for I know educated and non-educated people from all three levels in these dialects. These questions in any further testing would have to receive some consideration for validity.

Of the four dimensions analyzed here under geographical groups, none expressed contrastive attitudes among the data dialect communities. It appears that only one language variety is in operation with minor dialect remnants varying within it. From the ingroup perspective, Bay Bulls respondents thought that their dialect was more representative of the standard than did respondents from Pouch Cove or St. John's. However, in terms of linguistic security the urban respondents were significantly more positive than was the rural group Pouch Cove. Distinctions among upper, middle and lower classes were not significant if they existed at all. Overall I conclude that the minimal differences noted suggest that dialect levelling has eroded the dialects to such an extent that respondents view themselves as members of a single speech community.

Because the ingroup behaviour of the respondents was not more positive toward their own dialect than toward that of outgroups I had to consider social

mobility and convergence taking place among the respondents. It would seem therefore that although respondents do not appear to be making overt moves to acquire the regional standard convergence is taking place. Because contrasts are not evident greater homogeneity must be seen to exist than heterogeneity. The fact that this is the case verifies the hypothesis that a single speech community is identified.

### **9.5.2. a summary analysis for the social groups**

Contrasting the above four dimensions by social groups I found that for the geo-dialectal dimension no group contrasted significantly with any other. Since these groups are educationally stratified with administrators and employers being the most educated and students and employees being the least I concluded that only a single group awareness seemed to exist. Thus the awareness is well distributed throughout the community, geographically and socially. For the second dimension language standard awareness, some differences do occur. Administrators contrasted significantly with employees and students in viewing their dialect variety as more prestigious. Considering the difference in educational levels this was an expected result. In the third dimension linguistic security, students show themselves to be the least linguistically secure with administrators expressing significantly greater security. Again the result is in keeping with the different educational levels. However I did expect more contrast among the groups. Based on their scale positions I thought that administrators and employers would contrast with students and employees. The fourth dimension, socio-dialectal, showed no significant contrasts. Therefore even from this change in perspectives from geographical to social respondents varied very little from one another in how they perceived the dialects of their own and neighboring communities.

### **9.5.3. a summary analysis of the non-factor questions**

Twelve questions were grouped under this heading because of their multiple-choice design and their focus. Four of the questions centered on indexing speech according to class structure. In any further research using this questionnaire I would eliminate the non-factor design altogether because the responses elicited were low in reliability. Instead the graded scale format could have been used to get more reliable results. I could have set up bi-polar descriptives representing the occupational extremes, e.g., physician as upper class and laborers as lower class. Responses on this scale could then be interpreted according to the prestige levels of the different occupational groups. This approach would have eliminated the reliability problem because all scales could be factor analyzed. With the more reliable scale I would have increased the number of questions and focused only on indexing various occupations according to social class structure.

### **9.6. Questionnaire data: Parts III and IV**

The attitudes sought here were 'overt responses' to immediate stimuli, written samples of the spoken and written dialects. I was seeking to contrast respondents' attitudes toward neighboring dialects by having them evaluate written samples of these dialects intermingled with written samples of their own. Respondents were not told by the investigator which samples represented which dialects. Because graded scales were used the attitudes expressed were factor analyzed as well. The spoken dimension was clearly identified from the first analysis whereas the written dimension showed some complexity. Since I was interested only in spoken and written dimension I restricted the analysis to two factors to see if any of the variables in the written dimension would load on the spoken dimension. This did not happen but I was able to verify the two dimensions as proposed in the questionnaire. To contrast for significant differences I used the same range of a posteriori tests as for Part II.

Analyzing the two dimensions geographically I found that no differences



among the St. John's, Bay Bulls or Pouch Cove communities existed for either the spoken or written dimensions. Therefore respondents did not react differently among themselves and so registered a similar response. This similar view expressed negative attitudes toward the samples of the language as presented. These attitudes contrasted very nicely with earlier attitudes, respondents generally rated their dialects and individual speech with a mild degree of positiveness. Administrators and teachers differed significantly from students, parents and employees for the spoken dimension. However all respondents were negative in their attitude. In the written dimension there were no contrasts among the groups, again the attitude expressed was negative. Of the thirty samples used for both parts of the questionnaire twenty-eight variables loaded significantly. The same findings could therefore have been realized with two less variables. The two underlying dimensions were verified thus it was evident that I was measuring what I set out to measure.

### **9.7. A final statement**

As a final statement to the review of attitudes from a theoretical perspective and with its possible application to my study of language attitudes I found the **theoretical** discussions very beneficial. It provided insights and understanding of a complex human behaviour and since language is also part of that human behaviour I believe that it had provided me with some further insights into language. For example, language is not simply a flow of articulated sounds from an individual which has meaning in a speech community language is also a socially significant object and therefore, may be the source of attitude response.

For the empirical study of attitudes in a Newfoundland speech community I will return to the hypothesis: 'ingroup behaviour results in attitudes being more positive toward one's own dialect than toward the dialects spoken by outgroups. Where such attitude behaviour does not create this ingroup/outgroup contrast, the degree of homogeneity operating among the dialect speakers identifies a single speech community.' For most parts of the questionnaire respondents' attitudes



were positive toward their own dialects. However they were not negative toward the other two dialects as might have been expected. Because their attitude behaviour did not create this ingroup/outgroup contrast, I must conclude that the degree of homogeneity operating identifies only a single speech community for the urban center, St. John's, and the two rural communities, Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A.

Language attitude appears as a catalyst for a predictor of second-language achievement...

Research into second-language acquisition has proposed that achievement besides having a high correlation with a linguistic aptitude-intelligence factor also has a high correlation with an attitudinal-motivational factor. Each of these factors are independent of one another and are equally significant in acquiring a second-language. If in actuality this is the case, then it would seem reasonable to assume that language attitudes are a predictor of second-language achievement. Investigators of this theory have presented attitudes in three different language-learning situations: (i) attitudes of subjects learning the language of another culture in that cultural speech community, e.g., Canadian or American English speaking students learning French in Montreal, a bilingual-bicultural community (Gardner and Lambert, 1959; Lambert, Banik and Tunstall, (1963); (ii) attitudes of subjects learning the language of their own culture outside of that cultural speech community, e.g., Jewish students learning Hebrew outside of a Hebrew speech community (Anisfeld and Lambert, 1961); (iii) attitudes of subjects learning the language of another culture outside of that cultural speech community, e.g., Anglo-American speaking students learning French in Connecticut (Lambert, Gardner, Olton and Tunstall, 1968). A contrary opinion to the above position is proposed by J. MacNamara (1973) who believed attitudes had a rather minor involvement in second-language acquisition.

For a significant understanding of the role attitudes play in each of these language-learning situations it would seem important not only to interpret the

attitudinal responses in terms of that particular situation, but also to contrast each of these situations, to see if attitudinal responses are more significant in one situation than they are in any of the others. An example of the first language-learning situation proposed above is that of R.C. Gardner and W.E. Lambert (1959). They hypothesized that

...an individual acquiring a second language adopts certain behavior patterns which are characteristic of another cultural group and that his attitudes towards that group will at least partly determine his success in learning the new language (Gardner and Lambert, 1959:267).

The responses to this theory were factor analyzed and they revealed two dominant factors, an aptitude-intelligence factor and a social attitudes-orientation factor. Both correlated highly with students' achievements in the acquisition of that language. The conclusion drawn was that those who held positive attitudes toward the French-Canadian culture and language in these investigations were strongly motivated to learn that language.

In this and the Lambert et al. (1963) study subjects were acquiring a second-language in the cultural community of that second language. Although in fact it was a bilingual-bicultural community. At this point one might guess what the basis for the high correlation between attitude and achievement was since both were being tested in potentially very favorable circumstances. By potentially favorable I mean any bilingual-bicultural community. However such a language-learning situation may also serve as a disadvantage particularly in Montreal where there has been a standing social conflict between the two linguistic groups. To have daily personal contact and an opportunity to use the newly acquired second-language might be a strong argument for why there is a high correlation between attitudes and achievement.

In their 1961 investigation M. Anisfeld and W.W. Lambert exemplified the second language-learning situation by using a slightly different variable than that of the above situation. Research was carried out on Jewish high school students learning Hebrew in Montreal. The theoretical position proposed was that

...the relation between attitudes toward the other language group and language achievement, found to hold for other languages, should be particularly prominent in the case of Jewish children learning Hebrew, in which their own language is learned as a second-language (Anisfeld and Lambert, 1961: 524).

It was thought that the hypothesis was uniquely attributed to Jewish students learning Hebrew. Although, in a later study Lambert showed that certain similarities existed with Franco-American students learning French in Louisiana and Maine. In this study subjects were attempting to learn their own cultural language in a bilingual-bicultural community which was predominately English speaking. Although the second language learned here was not native to the cultural speech community the responses showed equally highly correlated results in attitudes and achievement. One might have thought that little contrast and infrequent opportunities to use the second language in every day affairs might have reduced the correlation between attitudes and achievement. Thus we might have expected some contrast between these two different language-learning situations.

A third language-situation investigated by Lambert et al. (1968) consisted of three different studies collectively presented. Involved were one monocultural community, Connecticut, and two bi-cultural communities, Louisiana and Maine. The subjects studied in these three areas were Anglo-American English speaking subjects learning French, Franco-American English speaking subjects learning French, and Franco-American French speaking subjects learning English. The general hypothesis for all three communities was to compare students' motivation with language achievement. However, for the bicultural communities there was an added dimension to determine that

attitude dispositions of American students towards linguistic minority groups in their immediate environment and the attitudes of members of the cultural minority group towards the general American culture about them (Lambert et al, 1968:476).

The presence of the earlier noted factors, aptitude-intelligence and attitude-

motivation were highly correlated in all three communities. Yet the attitudinal responses based on the different language-learning situations varied. The Anglo-American English speaking subjects learning French showed regional differences in attitudes, in the monocultural community Connecticut, strong motivation was based on students' integrative orientations and for the bicultural communities it was personal satisfaction and cultural contacts which were dominant. The bicultural reasons were more to be expected because as suggested earlier second-language cultural contacts could be an advantage. The lack of such contacts would require stronger personal reasons and possibly stronger motivation.

The Franco-American sample was divided into subjects learning French and subjects learning English in the same bilingual-bicultural communities. The investigation showed that the most important difference was in how social attitudes affected the degree and form of bilingualism.

...Whether they will capitalize on the opportunities available to them to become bilingual, or psychologically align themselves with one or the other cultures and consequently develop a linguistic dominance (Lambert et al., 1968:482).

Generally speaking achievement was linked with motivation except where cultural dominance interfered. There problems were incurred.

J. MacNamara (1973) has taken a contrary view to the findings of those investigators presented above. He argued that for second-language acquisition "...favorable attitudes are only of minor importance" (MacNamara, 1973:36). He based his argument on historical as well as on contemporary evidence. For such evidence MacNamara suggested diachronic language shifts which he stated have been accompanied by unfavorable attitudes toward the conquering people and their languages. English for all general purposes has replaced Irish, Welsh and Scots as the national language of these countries. French has replaced Provencal and the Catalonians have learned Castilian in addition to Catalan. The contemporary evidence is that language is acquired in order to communicate with one another despite one's attitude toward it. It is the element of communication which overcomes difficulties and the desire for communication.



Teachers and children wallow in what must be the nearest thing to total misunderstanding, and it has to do with basic attitudes (MacNamara, 1973:38).

Language attitude appears as a catalyst for  
determinant of interlingual intelligibility...

Language research has been able to demonstrate that the success or lack of it in interlingual intelligibility can sometimes be explained in terms of social or linguistic attitudes that the speakers of one language or dialect have toward those of another. In these investigations, language attitudes have been seen to function in two different directional situations. The first of these is where people speaking one language sometimes believe they are quite able to understand another group's language until they are actually put to the test. In such situations speakers assume some proximity and intelligibility because they have strong attitudinal directions towards the second language. Another situation occurs when two languages or dialects are strongly interrelated in their phonological and lexical systems, etc.. Indeed, it would seem impossible for one group not to have understood the other group with the exception of some minor difficulties. Yet in such cases these people have claimed little or no intelligibility with the other language. In these situations it has been shown that fear of linguistic or other social dominance by speakers of the second language has been the reason for the lack of intelligibility.

Han Wolff (1964) conducted a series of investigations to set up orthographies for certain languages in Nigeria. In the process it was important for him to explore the significance of linguistic intelligibility to determine which languages could be combined for a common orthography. He believed intelligibility data could be very helpful in revealing among other things, "...the existence of certain interethnic relationships and attitudes,... (Wolff, 1964:440). Because there is linguistic similarity between two dialects this does not mean that there is interlingual intelligibility. Similarly the apparent lack of any linguistic similarity between two such dialects does not assure there is no intelligibility.

With the Nembe and Kalabari people of the Eastern Niger Delta who belonged to a linguistically homogeneous group of Ijaw languages, he found that the lack of intelligibility was due because the Kalabari

...regard the Nembe- and, for that matter, all other Ijaw speaking groups-as poor country cousins, definitely inferior to themselves (Wolff, 1964:442).

In another study among the Edo, Ishan and Etsko languages of southwestern Nigeria Wolff pointed out an example of where there was an attempt to set up a lingua franca with Edo common to all. On the comparability level there were sufficient differences to consider them as separate languages. The point came up again that intelligibility is a function of intercultural or interethnic trends and relationships. Benin speakers of Edo seemed to want to extend its cultural boundaries for prestige reasons. However the Ishan and Etsko speakers wanted to guard their linguistic and political independence. Ultimately Wolff was able to suggest that in a given area,

...interlingual communication - involving any one of different types of intelligibility - takes place, when cultural factors are favorable to such communication (Wolff, 1964:44).

E. Haugen (1966) investigated Scandinavian languages and revealed some interesting results regarding language attitudes. The Danes, Norwegians and Swedes expect to be understood by their fellow Scandinavian speakers when they use their own languages. They think themselves to be better understood than they themselves are able to understand. The Norwegians are favored in being most easily understood and are the recipients of positive linguistic attitudes. The Danes are the least understood and receive the most negative language attitudes. Yet the Danes show most favorable attitudes in the Nordic co-operation because they have the most to gain while the Swedes show the least favorable attitudes because they have the least to gain. Haugen noted that

...even though mutual comprehension is basically a matter of language distance, we cannot entirely discount the effect of mutual

social attitudes in reducing or enhancing the will to understand (Haugen, 1966:290).

## Appendix B

## QUESTIONNAIRE:

A LANGUAGE SURVEY OF AN URBAN AND TWO RURAL CENTERS  
WITHIN THE ST. JOHN'S METROPOLITAN AREA, NEWFOUNDLAND  
(1977)

Informant's name: \_\_\_\_\_

Place of interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of interview: \_\_\_\_\_

(This survey is restricted to the city of St. John's  
and the communities of Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove.)

PART I.

DIRECTIONS. Place an 'x' in the appropriate box for each response.

## 1. Sex of informant:

- i) male ( )  
 ii) female ( )

## 2. Where have you lived for the longest time up to age 18 years?

- i) St. John's ( )  
 ii) Bay Bulls ( )  
 iii) Pouch Cove ( )  
 iv) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

(city/town, country)

## 3. Where have you lived for the longest time since age 18 years?

- i) St. John's ( )  
 ii) Bay Bulls ( )  
 iii) Pouch Cove ( )  
 iv) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

(city/town, country)

## 4. Where do you live now?

- i) St. John's ( )  
 ii) Bay Bulls ( )  
 iii) Pouch Cove ( )  
 iv) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

(city/town, country)

## 5. How long have you lived at your present address?

- i) less than a year ( )  
 ii) one to five years ( )  
 iii) five to ten years ( )  
 iv) more than ten years ( )

## 6. What is the longest time that you have lived away from St. John's, Bay Bulls, or Pouch Cove whichever applies to you?

- i) never ( )  
 ii) less than a year ( )  
 iii) approximately a year ( )  
 iv) one to two years ( )  
 v) more than two years ( )

## 7. Where are your parents from?

- |                                  | father | mother |
|----------------------------------|--------|--------|
| i) St. John's                    | ( )    | ( )    |
| ii) Bay Bulls                    | ( )    | ( )    |
| iii) Pouch Cove                  | ( )    | ( )    |
| iv) another part of Newfoundland | ( )    | ( )    |
| v) other (specify) mother:       |        |        |

(city/town, country)

father:

(city/town, country)



8. If married, where is your husband/wife from?

- i) St. John's ( )
- ii) Bay Bulls ( )
- iii) Pouch Cove ( )
- iv) another part of Newfoundland ( )
- v) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

(city/town, country)

9. What family ancestry are you most aware of?

- i) Irish ( )
- ii) English ( )
- iii) Scottish ( )
- iv) Mainland Canadian ( )
- v) American ( )
- vi) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

(nationality)

10. What is your age?

- i) Under 18 years ( )
- ii) 18 - 24 ( )
- iii) 25 - 34 ( )
- iv) 35 - 44 ( )
- v) 45 - 54 ( )
- vi) Over 55 ( )

11. What is your present main occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

(exact title)

12. What was the main occupation of the principal money earner in your family at the time you finished school?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(exact title)

13. How many years have you been in the work force?

- i) less than one year ( )
- ii) one to five years ( )
- iii) six to ten years ( )
- iv) eleven to fifteen years ( )
- v) more than fifteen years ( )

14. What level of education have you completed?

- i) Grade school or less ( )
- ii) Some high school ( )
- iii) High school diploma or high school equivalency diploma ( )
- iv) Trades College or Fisheries College ( )
- v) Some university ( )
- vi) University Degree ( )
- vii) Some graduate or professional school ( )
- viii) Graduate or professional school ( )

15. The school you attended for the longest time was:
- i) R.C. (Catholic) School ( )
  - ii) Avalon Consolidated (Protestant) School ( )
  - iii) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_  
(name the school)
16. The school you attended for the longest time was for:
- i) boys only ( )
  - ii) girls only ( )
  - iii) both boys and girls ( )
17. Who was the principal of the school you attended?
- i) a lay person (man or woman) ( )
  - ii) a religious nun ( )
  - iii) a religious priest/brother ( )
18. What level of education have your parents completed?
- i) Grade school or less ( )
  - ii) Some high school ( )
  - iii) High school diploma or high school  
equivalency diploma ( )
  - iv) Trades or Fisheries College ( )
  - v) Some university ( )
  - vi) University degree ( )
  - vii) Some graduate or professional school ( )
  - viii) Graduate or professional school ( )
19. What is your annual income before taxes?
- i) less than \$10,000 ( )
  - ii) \$10,000 to \$20,000 ( )
  - iii) \$21,000 to \$30,000 ( )
  - iv) \$31,000 to \$40,000 ( )
  - v) over \$40,000 ( )
20. What is the annual income of your spouse or person with whom  
you cohabit?
- i) less than \$10,000 ( )
  - ii) \$10,000 to \$20,000 ( )
  - iii) \$21,000 to \$30,000 ( )
  - iv) \$31,000 to \$40,000 ( )
  - v) over \$40,000 ( )

## PART II.

**DIRECTIONS:** Questions are of two types:

- [illegible]

2. multiple choice

\*\*\*\*\*

21. In general, how would you rate the English spoken by Newfoundlanders?

- i) acceptable      $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$      non-acceptable

- ii) educated       $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  :      not educated

22. Do people speak differently in St. John's than they do in Pouch Cove or in Bay Bulls?

- definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  not at all

23. Your own English is an example of that spoken by:

- i) St. John's people ( )  
 ii) Pouch Cove people ( )  
 iii) Bay Bulls people ( )  
 iv) other (specify) ( )

24. Of the three, which community would you say speaks the best English?

- i) St. John's ( )
- ii) Pouch Cove ( )
- iii) Bay Bulls ( )

25. How would you rate the English spoken by St. John's people?

- i) acceptable  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : non-acceptable

- ii) educated       $\bar{1}$  :  $\bar{2}$  :  $\bar{3}$  :  $\bar{4}$  :  $\bar{5}$  :  $\bar{6}$  :  $\bar{7}$  :      not educated

26. How would you rate the English spoken by Pouch Cove people?

i) acceptable  $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{7}{7}$  non-acceptable

ii) educated  $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{7}{7}$  not educated

27. How would you rate the English spoken by Bay Bulls people?

i) acceptable  $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{7}{7}$  non-acceptable

ii) educated  $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{7}{7}$  not educated

28. Are there people in your community who you think speak a 'more acceptable variety of English than what you might usually hear spoken by the average person in public?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{7}{7}$  not at all

29. Are these people generally more educated than yourself, or less educated?

more educated  $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{7}{7}$  less educated

30. Who might these people be?

- i) radio announcers ( )
- ii) government ministers ( )
- iii) clergymen ( )
- iv) policemen ( )
- v) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

31. Where is this variety of speech mainly to be found?

- i) in the homes ( )
- ii) in Church ( )
- iii) at work ( )
- iv) at social gatherings ( )
- v) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

32. Could this variety of English be used as a model for teaching our children in school?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{7}{7}$  not at all

33. Do you speak this variety of English?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

34. If so, how well do you speak this variety of English?

very well  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not very well

35. Is there a variety of 'educated Newfoundland English' such as that which might be used in schools?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

36. Is this variety of English identical to or different from that spoken by those people who speak the 'more acceptable' variety of English mentioned in question 28?

identical  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : different

37. If different, is it because it is more educated or less educated?

more educated  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : less educated

38. Where is this variety of speech to be found?

- i) in the homes ( )
- ii) in the schools ( )
- iii) at work ( )
- iv) when speaking to strangers on the street ( )
- v) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

39. Who speaks this 'educated Newfoundland English'?

- i) lawyers ( )
- ii) school teachers ( )
- iii) secretaries ( )
- iv) waitresses ( )
- v) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

40. Do you speak this 'educated speech'?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all



41. How important is it to speak 'educated Newfoundland English' in your community?

very important  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not very important

42. How important is it to write 'educated Newfoundland English'?

very important  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not very important

43. To whom would you speak 'educated Newfoundland English'?

- i) medical doctors ( )
- ii) insurance agents ( )
- iii) office clerks ( )
- iv) bus drivers ( )
- v) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

44. Would it be an advantage in your job or studies to speak an 'educated Newfoundland English'?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

45. If you do not speak 'educated Newfoundland English', how would you classify the variety of English that you do speak?

- i) the same English as is spoken by other people in my community, acceptable English ( )
- ii) English which is different from other people in the community I live ( )
- iii) not educated speech, but still acceptable ( )
- iv) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

46. Your spoken English is similar to the variety spoken by:

- i) your dentist ( )
- ii) your bank manager ( )
- iii) your local policeman ( )
- iv) your average laborer ( )
- v) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

47. How would you rate the variety of English that you write?

- i) educated Newfoundland English ( )
- ii) not educated Newfoundland English, but acceptable ( )
- iii) not acceptable written language ( )
- iv) other (specify) ( )

48. Have you ever felt critical about the varieties of English other Newfoundlanders speak?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

49. If so, what features strike you as particularly unattractive?

i) pronunciation ( )  
 ii) choice of words ( )  
 iii) grammatical errors ( )  
 iv) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

50. Have you ever found yourself or members of your family speaking this way?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

51. Do you change from one variety of English to another, depending upon the person(s) you are speaking with?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

52. If so, who of the following do you noticeably change your speech for?

i) your parents ( )  
 ii) your employer, or people in authority ( )  
 iii) those who are under your authority ( )  
 iv) those you consider equal to you ( )  
 v) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

53. Have you ever been criticized for the variety of English you do speak?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

54. If so, how would you react to the above criticism?

strongly react  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not react

55. Have you ever felt uncomfortable among other Newfoundlanders because of the variety of English you speak?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

56. Do most of the people you socialize with speak the same variety of English as yourself?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

57. Do you ever feel self-conscious about the variety of English you speak when you are with superiors?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

58. I often use words which other people do not know the meaning of?

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

59. I often judge people by how they speak, rather than by what they say.

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

60. I am as frequently aware of how people speak, as I am of what they say.

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

61. When I speak I am as concerned with how I say something, as I am with what I am saying.

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

62. I often do things which others may regard as unconventional, such as speaking differently.

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

63. I frequently imitate the way other people speak, if I think they are more educated than I am.

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

64. I sometimes feel depressed by my own inability to speak 'a better variety of English'.

definitely  $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$  : not at all

65. I prefer using an informal style of writing, such as in letters to my friends, than using a formal style of writing, such as that used in reports or essays.

definitely     $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$     not at all

66. How would you rate the English of Newfoundland students in general?

good             $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$     bad

67. How do you rate the English of Newfoundland teachers in general?

good             $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$     bad

68. How do you rate the English of Newfoundland store-clerks in general?

good             $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$     bad

69. How do you rate the English of Newfoundland Members of Government?

good             $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$     bad

70. How do you rate the English of people who speak on the local 'Open Line Programs', e.g., Bas. Jamieson's program?

good             $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :  $\frac{4}{4}$  :  $\frac{5}{5}$  :  $\frac{6}{6}$  :  $\frac{7}{7}$     bad

PART IV: SPOKEN TEXTS

DIRECTIONS: How would you rate the following sentences?

1. Will they give you anything on that to show that you owns it?

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$     $\frac{2}{2}$     $\frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

2. But then the plough usen't come down then every so often as it do now.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$     $\frac{2}{2}$     $\frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

3. Never heard of him. Where's that to, Slade?

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$     $\frac{2}{2}$     $\frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

4. Maybe the road be blocked in for two or three days before you get back to work.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$     $\frac{2}{2}$     $\frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

5. No, Jack was only pensioned there a couple a year ago.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$     $\frac{2}{2}$     $\frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

6. And he'll do anything he can for to nail it anyway he can.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$     $\frac{2}{2}$     $\frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

7. I'm after being in twice with a delegation to a meeting in there.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$     $\frac{2}{2}$     $\frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

8. He done a savage thing, poor old Anthony did.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$     $\frac{2}{2}$     $\frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

9. There's all Liberals in River Head and Mall Bay apparently.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$     $\frac{2}{2}$     $\frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable



10. Great big old condenser, without someone was smart to get it up over the bank.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

11. Sometimes when you get a kid he don't like this and he don't like that.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

12. He was out to Harbour Grace and he had a real sunny day.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

13. She treat him when he was here probably just like she'd Sonia or Ray.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

14. Remember that pond we were looking off in the distance.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

15. We had a boil-up and lay back on the skidoos and had a rest.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3}$       unacceptable

PART III:WRITTEN TEXTS

DIRECTIONS: Rate the following sentences for their acceptability.

\* \* \* \* \*

1. Now the majority of people work in St. John's on construction work.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :      unacceptable

2. Each person should stick with their religion and save themselves from disagreement with his fellow man.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :      unacceptable

3. It was only by chance the Steve meets Joan.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :      unacceptable

4. I think I must of had a jinks.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :      unacceptable

5. Most types of work repulses me.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :      unacceptable

6. I couldn't understand a word they said.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :      unacceptable

7. He was ignorant to the facts.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :      unacceptable

8. Only at the end do he suspect any difference.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :      unacceptable

9. There was a few people in the room but I seen no-one I knew.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}$  :  $\frac{2}{2}$  :  $\frac{3}{3}$  :      unacceptable

10. Many people who I know enjoys the life of the university.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}:$     $\frac{2}{2}:$     $\frac{3}{3}:$       unacceptable

11. These kind of books should not be used in school.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}:$     $\frac{2}{2}:$     $\frac{3}{3}:$       unacceptable

12. We done it last year.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}:$     $\frac{2}{2}:$     $\frac{3}{3}:$       unacceptable

13. Articles as the one found in yesterdays paper influence people.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}:$     $\frac{2}{2}:$     $\frac{3}{3}:$       unacceptable

14. Not one of the people were happy about the situation.

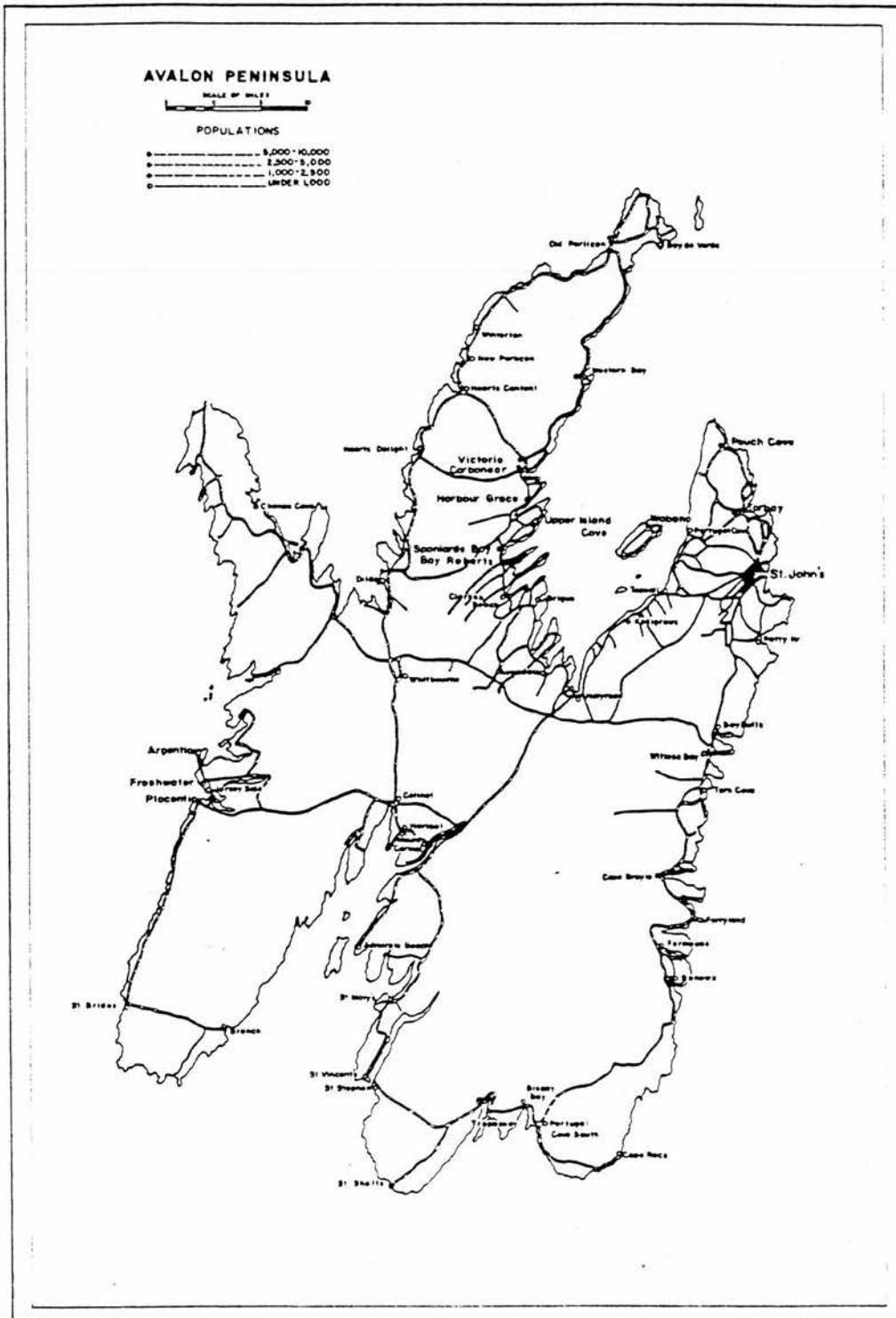
acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}:$     $\frac{2}{2}:$     $\frac{3}{3}:$       unacceptable

15. Today merchant vessels or whaling ships has gone out to sea in search of whales.

acceptable       $\frac{1}{1}:$     $\frac{2}{2}:$     $\frac{3}{3}:$       unacceptable

—Newfoundland and Labrador

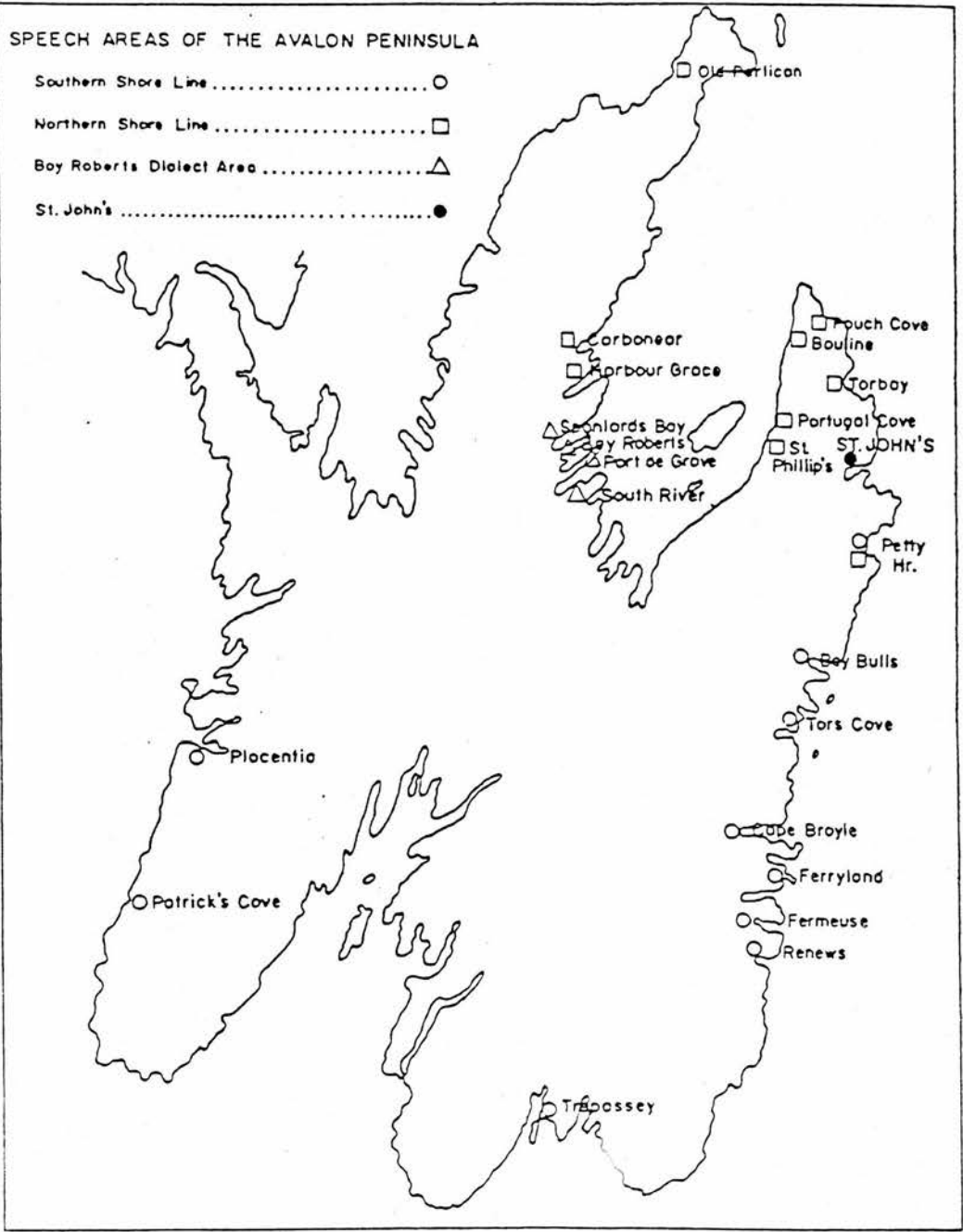
## Appendix D



—Avalon Peninsula

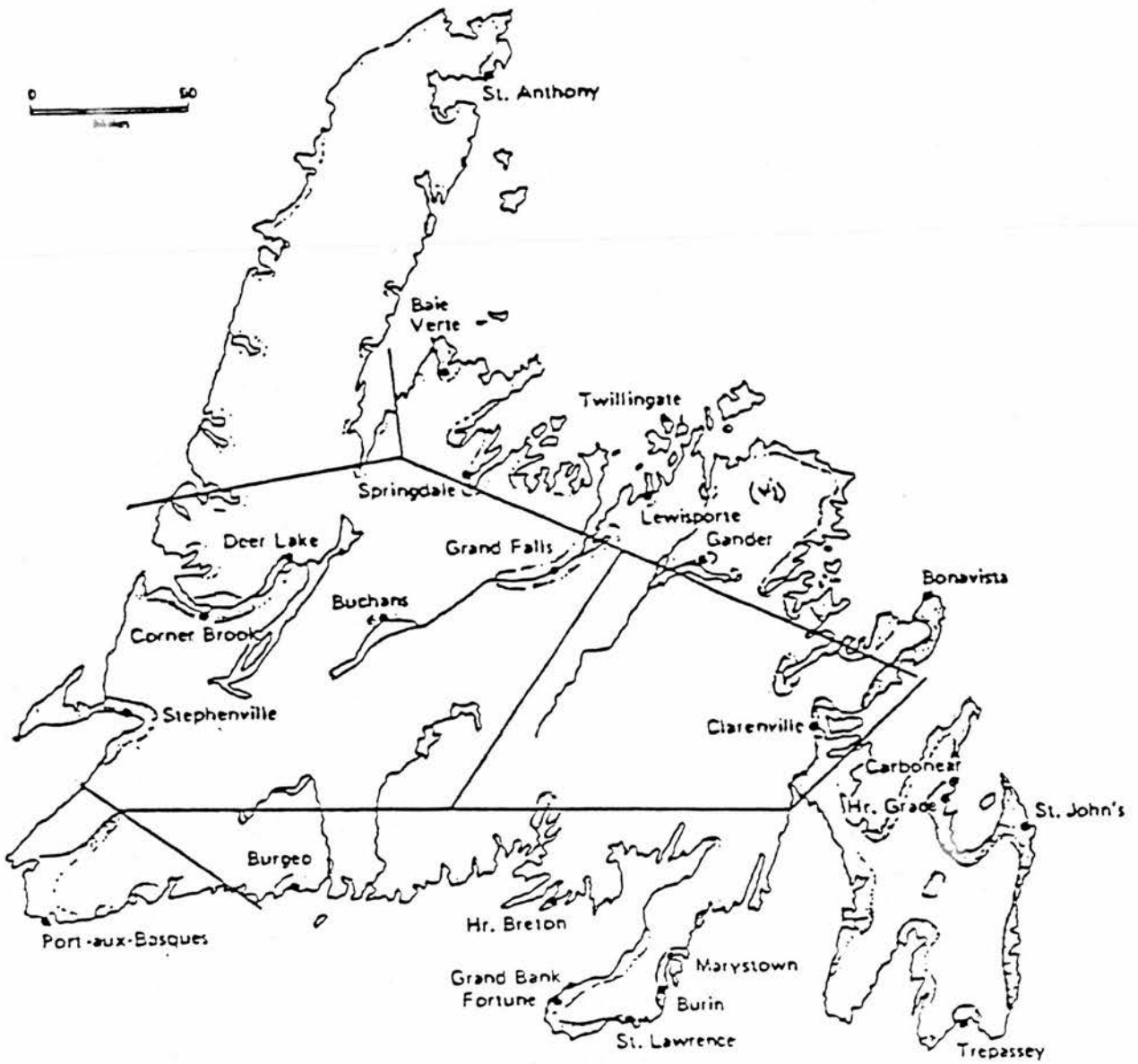


Appendix E



—Speech areas of the Avalon Peninsula

## Appendix F



## Appendix G

## 2. Consonants

The non-syllabic phonemes of the selected dialect generally conform to the North American English pattern, and should present few difficulties in transcription or classification. It is not therefore intended to discuss them in any detail here. There are, however, a few points of consonant distribution which are worth mentioning.

2.1 The elision of initial /h/ is common in popular speech, together with the intrusion of /h/ before initial stressed vowels. It appears that this intrusion is also used to avoid hiatus, as [ʔ] often is in British speech. But the precise conditions under which both phenomena — the elision and intrusion of /h/ — occur need investigation.

2.2 In popular speech a dental [t] is often substituted for /θ/ in all positions; e.g. [tæŋks] for *thanks*. Voiceless initial plosives are always strongly aspirated.

2.3 'Voiced [t]' or a voiced alveolar flap, is often heard for /t/ between a stressed and an unstressed vowel, as in [bætɪ]. This phenomenon, frequently noted elsewhere in North America,<sup>12</sup> is possibly more common amongst younger speakers. It would be interesting to know whether it is the result of mainland influence or a native development. The latter alternative cannot be ruled out until something is known about when this sound change seems to have begun in Newfoundland. I suspect that I have heard intervocalic /p/, under the same conditions, pronounced with such a swift labial occlusion that it was almost impossible to detect an interruption of the vibrations of the glottis. This is not quite the same as saying that I heard *supper* pronounced as [səbɪ], but I should like to know if there are any examples of this sound change.

2.4 There are other peculiarities of consonants in Newfoundland, such as the substitution of voiced for voiceless fricatives (as in Somerset), which cannot be dealt with here, since they are probably indigenous to speech areas outside that of the selected dialect.

\* \* \*

Our main interest at present is with the syllabic phonemes of the selected dialect. They consist of eleven vowel phonemes and ten falling diphthong phonemes.<sup>13</sup> These are listed in the appendix, such notes as are necessary being given below. The phonetic symbols used have basically, with one suggested exception, their values in the *Linguistic Atlas of New England*.<sup>14</sup> The defini-

12. See, for example, Avis, W. S., "Speech Differences along the Ontario-United States Border, 111, Pronunciation," *JOLA*, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 54.

13. /ɪʊ/, a rising diphthong, is not included, as being a variant of /ju/.

14. *Handbook*, pp. 123 ff.

tion of the term *phoneme* accepted throughout these remarks is that of Daniel Jones: 'a family of sounds in a given language which are related in character and are used in such a way that no one member ever occurs in a word in the same phonetic context as any other member'.<sup>15</sup> The following notes are intended to expand the description of each phoneme given in the appendix, commenting where necessary on its distinguishing characteristics, its distribution, its variations, and the phonetic symbol assigned to it. (If I tend to use British English [S.S.B.] too frequently for purposes of comparison, I can only say that it is the dialect of English with which I am most familiar.) Certain of these comments will undoubtedly suggest some of the lines to be pursued in the further investigation by which this hypothetical standard is to be judged.

### 3. The Vowels

No. 1., /i/, as in *bead*, is distinguished from No. 2 by its tongue position being retracted from that of Cardinal No. 1, as well as being slightly more open; there is a greater degree of tenseness than in No. 2 and a greater area of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. It occurs in words like *bead*, *either*, *field*, *complete*. The vowel is sometimes diphthongised to [ij].<sup>16</sup>

No. 2, /ɪ/, as in *bid*, is noticeably closer, more advanced and tenser than its S.S.B. counterpart. It usually occurs only in stressed syllables, except in the suffix [ɪ], as in *daily*, [deɪlɪ]. There is a close central allophone [ɪ] which occurs in words like *horses*, *waited*, *begin* (first syllable), in *him* and *it* when unstressed, and before [n] and [r], as in *spirit* [spɪrɪt], *minute* [mɪnɪt]. There is no justification in this dialect for considering [ɪ] as a separate phoneme.

No. 3, /e/, as in *bed*, corresponds to its counterpart in S.S.B. and General American (G.A.), though its tongue position is often a little closer than either of these 'foreign' sounds. Before /l/ and nasals a lowered or retracted variant is used, the precise nature of the resulting sound being variable. In popular speech [e] is often raised to [e] or [er], especially when pronounced long before a voiced consonant, as in *bed*, *dead*. This pronunciation may, however, reflect a different phonemic grouping. In different speech areas of Newfoundland *dead* can be heard as [dɪd], [ded], [ded], or any one of several intermediate pronunciations.

No. 4, /æ/, as in *bad*, is generally pronounced more open than S.S.B. /æ/, but closer than Cardinal No. 4. It occurs in

15. Jones, Daniel, *The Phoneme, its Nature and Use*, Cambridge, 1950, p. 10; and the 'History and Meaning of the Term "Phoneme"', *Le Maître Phonétique* (supplement), July-December, 1887, p. 14.

16. There is a tendency in Newfoundland, especially among children, to diphthongise all vowels which are normally long, and to lengthen vowels which are normally short.

words like *bad, calm, chance, fast, laugh, pass*. Many speakers consistently use a raised variety of this vowel in stressed syllables that have S.S.B. /w/. Others use [a>] in words that have 'back a' in S.S.B. The only word that I have found to be consistently pronounced with [u] or [a>] in Newfoundland is *father*, in which I have even heard a rounded open back vowel; words like *almond* occasionally have [a>]. Since no overlapping is involved, *farther* being pronounced with diphthong No. 20, we can regard all these varieties as members of the /w/ phoneme, none of its members being in 'complementary distribution'.<sup>17</sup> A degree of nasalisation is frequent when this vowel is followed by a nasal.

No. 5, /ɔ/, as in *body, cot*, corresponds to the /ɔ/ of S.S.B., though it has less rounding. A completely unrounded variety of this vowel, as in G.A., is heard, but it is comparatively rare. When it does occur it is distinct from the [a>] of *father*, largely by being shorter.

No. 6, /ɔ>/, as in *bawdy*, is nearer to the /ɔ>/ of G.A. than to that of S.S.B. It is distinguished from No. 5 by greater length (though this may not be distinctive) and a closer and tenser tongue position, though rounding remains slight. It occurs in words like *bawdy, bought, caught, law, water*, though in the latter case the [w] has not always caused rounding. Some speakers are unaware that they distinguish between this vowel and No. 5, though the difference is clearly audible in a sentence like [ðə kɒps kɒt ðə 0ɪf]. Many speakers pronounce this vowel with some nasalisation.

No. 7, /u/, as in *put* corresponds to the /u/ of S.S.B. and G.A. Lip rounding is generally slight, sometimes nonexistent.

No. 8, /u/, as in *boot*, corresponds to the /u/ of S.S.B. and G.A. There is a close rounding of the lips, but they are not protruded. The tongue position is more advanced than in S.S.B., being nearer to that of French /u/, as in *bout*.

No. 9, /ʌ/, as in *bud*, corresponds to the /ʌ/ of S.S.B. and G.A., though it is considerably closer than the former and probably less advanced than the latter. Sometimes a completely central vowel is used. A rounded allophone of this phoneme appears before bi-labial consonants, as in *some, cup*, and sometimes before labio-dentals, as in *love*, a sound which I take to be similar to, but more open than, 'the so-called "New England short o," as in the rural pronunciation of words like *whole, home, coat*.'<sup>18</sup> The distribution of this sound in Newfoundland and New England is, of course, entirely different. The problem of the exact quality

17. I.e. "no member ever occurs in a word in the same phonetic context as any other member." See Jones, *The History and Meaning of the Term "Phoneme"*, p. 14, § 26 and n. 47.

18. Kurath, *Handbook*, p. 128.



of this phoneme is not confined to Newfoundland. In S.S.B. it varies between [ʌ], as this symbol is used in the alphabet of the I.P.A., and [a]; in G.A. it varies between a closer [ʌ] and /ɔ/.<sup>19</sup>

No. 10, /ɹ/, a retroflex vowel as in *bird*, is used in stressed and unstressed positions. It occurs in words like *bird*, *clerk*, *fir*, *fur*, *dearth*, and *butter*, *father*, *honour*. The degree of 'burring' and the earliness of its commencement is variable, so that [ɝ], or even [[ɝ̃]], can sometimes be heard in stressed syllables. In unstressed syllables this phoneme is sometimes replaced by vowel No. 12, /ɔ/.

The suggested symbol for this phoneme is a departure from the usage of the *Linguistic Atlas of New England*. If we accept Pike's classification of [r] as a central resonant oral, or vocoid,<sup>20</sup> we admit that the sound may be a vowel or a consonant, according to whether or not it is syllabic. The L. A. N. E. symbol, [ɝ], gives insufficient scope to the field-worker in Newfoundland, who will need to be able to distinguish, in the narrow transcription of stressed syllables, between [ɹ] and [ɝ], as well as [ɜ]. It is merely a matter of convenience to use an 'upside down' [ɹ] for the vowel and an ordinary [r] for the consonant: it would only lead to confusion to regard them as members of the same phoneme. The chances of hearing a 'trilled' r, the I.P.A. value of [r], in Newfoundland are very slight. The choice of the vowel symbol /ɹ/ follows the usage of Daniel Jones in describing American speech.<sup>21</sup> In passing we may note the effect of the strongly 'burred' Newfoundland [ɹ], when it occurs before [n]. It then becomes a true 'vowel glide', which is what Pike calls it,<sup>22</sup> making the [n] syllabic. This gives rise, for example, to the pronunciation of *modern* as [mɔdɹn]. In a recent radio series, the family name of the kings of Prussia was consistently pronounced [hoənɔləɹŋ].

No. 11, /ə/, 'denotes the common "obscure" mid-central vowel heard in unstressed syllables of words like *about*, *confess*, *sofa*.'<sup>23</sup> It appears that its tongue position is not always as consistent in Newfoundland as elsewhere, often being articulated as a centralised variant of the vowel of which it is the unstressed reflex. In words like *bottle*, *bottom*, *sadden*, a syllabic final consonant is regular. This is possibly due to the speed of utterance which is characteristic of Newfoundland speech.

19. See Thomas, C. K., *An Introduction to the Phonetics of American English*, New York, 1947, pp. 94-95.

20. Pike, K. L., *Phonetics*, Ann Arbor, 1943, p. 143.

21. Jones, D., *An Outline of English Phonetics*, 8th Edn., London, 1956, Appendix D, pp. 366 ff.

22. Pike, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

23. Kurath, *Handbook*, p. 125.

#### 4. The Diphthongs

The diphthongs of our selected dialect need less discussion here than the vowels, and more precise information is needed as to their formation.

In general it may be said that both elements of Nos. 12-16 are more clearly articulated, with the tongue glide more prolonged, than in S.S.B. In Nos. 12 and 13, /eɪ/ and /ou/, however the second element is occasionally not heard at all. The first element of No. 14, /aɪ/, is considerably more retracted than that of No. 15, /au/; is often approximates the /ʌ/ of S.S.B. It is interesting to note that in popular speech No. 14, /aɪ/, tends to become [ɔɪ], which is often wrongly interpreted as [ɔɪ]; while No. 16, /ɔɪ/, tends to become [aɪ]. Thus the sentence 'the boy has no time' becomes [ðə bar həz nou taim]. Further investigation may show that our standard is too conservative (if that is the right word), and that these two variants represent the majority usage in our area.

The symbol for the second element of Nos. 17-21 follows from our discussion under vowel No. 10: if /ɪ/ is a vowel, then it is capable of forming diphthongs; and it does so. Sometimes, however, there is no retroflexion in these five diphthongs, so that we have [ɪə, eə, aə, ɔə, uə].

5. In conclusion, it is hoped, first, that this phonemic classification of a Newfoundland dialect will be accepted for what it is — a standard of reference for further investigation, a hypothesis to be tested by its use —, and, secondly, that a necessarily cursory description of the sounds has not obscured the inherent distinctiveness of Newfoundland speech. Possibly one of its most distinctive aspects is its intonation. Perhaps the next stages of enquiry will yield some material for the study of Newfoundland intonation, and then, one day, there may be time for such a word.

## Appendix H

## THE SOUTHERN SHORELINE

A practically homogeneous dialect is spoken all along the southern shoreline of the Avalon Peninsula. This line of settlements includes the southern shore from Petty Harbour to Trepassey, St. Mary's Bay and the east side of Placentia Bay as far north as Placentia.<sup>1</sup>

The earlier generations of these settlements primarily came from Ireland, have belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, and have attended Roman Catholic schools. The following description of the phonological system generally to be heard in this area is valid for the older generation of fishermen, men between sixty and eighty years of age.

The consonant phonemes, according to our present interpretation, are as follows:

/p	t	t	ç	k
b	d	d	ɣ	g
f		s	ʃ	
v		z	ʒ	
m		n		ŋ
	l			
	r			
w		y		h / <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A field-worker interviewed formally and spent one or more days in Petty Harbour, Bay Bulls, Tors Cove, Cape Broyle, Ferryland, Fermeuse, Renew's, Daniel's Point (Trepassey), Patrick's Cove, P.B., and Placentia.

<sup>2</sup>See the publications related to the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, especially Kurath and McDavid, *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States*, p. 1-9. Very useful detailed descriptions of the phonetics of Anglo-Irish dialects can be found in J. J. Hogan, *The English Language in Ireland*; P. L. Henry, *An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon*; and Henry, "A Linguistic Survey of Ireland. Preliminary Report," *Lochlann*, 1 (1958), p. 49-208.

Since most members of these phonemes are identical with the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) characters of the same form, they do not require further attention. The IPA uses [ʒ ʒ tʃ dʒ j] respectively for the central sounds of /ʒ ʒ tʃ y/. Some other phonemes deserve special attention.

/t/ It is still uncertain whether there is a physical or an audible difference between the phonemes /t/ and /t/. Until some detailed listening tests are carried out with native speakers and listeners, it is proposed that this dialect has a dental *t*, that is [t̪], in the positions where *th* is frequently written and many standard speakers pronounce [θ]. Not one case of an ambiguous sound misinterpreted as /t/ or /t/ has turned up in two and a half years of attentive listening.<sup>1</sup> All that can be said is that the pronunciations of /t/ do not clearly and distinctly sound like /t/, although this may result from the field-worker expecting to hear [θ].

/t/ Initially this is aspirated, and intervocally it is a lenis stop: [t̪].

/d/ Parallel to /t/, /d/ is proposed as a dental *d*—[d̪]—in positions where many standard speakers pronounce *th* as [θ].

/l/ A clear, or alveolar, *l*—[l̪]—is generally used in all positions, even when neighbouring vowels are low or back. Besides the impressionistically noted rhythms and intonations of the dialect, this distinctive clear *l* is one of the prominent special qualities which identify the Southern Shoreline dialect and frequently, in addition, Newfoundlanders with diverse ethno-linguistic roots.

/r/ Initially, intervocally, and after consonants /r/ is the retroflex glide used by standard speakers in much of North America: [ɻ]. After vowels and finally, the sound is clearly and strongly a retroflex *r*, as in [ɛɻ], [oɻ].

The vowel phonemes and diphthongs of stressed syllables, presented here in tabular form, require more thorough discussion.

/i/		u
ɪ		ʊ
e	ɜ	o
ɛ	ʌ	
æ		a
	aʊ	aɪ/

/i/ [i̯] A high front vowel with a slight glide:

[ʃi̯əz] 'Sheila's'  
[bri̯z]  
[θri̯] 'three'  
[ˈwi̯l, bæro]

/ɪ/ [ɪ] A lower high front vowel in stressed syllables:

[mɪk]  
[ˈkɪk] 'home-made anchor'  
[ˈbɪzɪd]  
[ʃɪm] 'kitchen utensil'

In weakly stressed syllables and finally, this is a barred *i*, [i̯], [ɪ] or even [e]:

[ˈdɛməntɪ] 'autumn storm'  
[ˈbæɪkæ:ɪdɪz] 'coat of ice on rocks'

<sup>1</sup>One pun was uttered by a young St. John's resident: "Like the horse takes the oats, he heaves the oaths out of him."

/e/ [eː e: ɛ] Considerable variety can be heard in this mid front vowel. Frequently it is lengthened and lowered, without a discernible rising glide. This phoneme appears in words spelled *a-e* or *ai* and typically in syllables spelled *ea*.

[ˈsteːdʒɪz]  
[ˈkeːplɪn]  
[ˈdreːrɔːd]  
[beːl] 'bail'  
[seɪnt]  
[ˈsteːmɔː]  
[heːt] 'heath'  
[leːk] 'leak'  
[kæmˈpeɪt]

/ɛ/ [ɛ] The lower mid front vowel is short and without noticeable variation. It appears frequently before following *r*, so that contrast between *ear* and *air* is lost.

[drɛdʒ]  
[sɛd]  
[stˈveːɪ] 'severe'  
[ˈdrɛərɪk] 'dreary'  
[pɛr] 'pare' once

/æ/ [æ] The lower front vowel is quite stable and uniform. It is short or only half-long and exhibits little tendency to be raised or nasalized. However, this, or possibly a slightly lower variety, is the nucleus when *r* follows. The nucleus is *r*-coloured, rather than with a following retroflexion. This phoneme appears in words with *-lm*, slightly longer and maybe with a glide, but no contrast of length exists in, say, *Sam* and *calm*.

[pæʃ]  
[dæʃ]  
[pænts]  
[læntʃ] 'launch' n.  
[ˈgrænˌdæ]  
[kæːm] 'calm'  
[pæːm] 'palm'  
[ˈstærɡɪnz] 'good firs for cutting'

/ɜ/ [ɜ ɜː ɜːr ɜːr] The mid central retroflex vowel is universally used in stressed and unstressed syllables. A special quality audible in this vowel seems to result from a lowered or retracted position of the tongue, or maybe from a special configuration in the mouth: not always [ɜ], but [ɜː] and [ɜːr] in words like *work*, *worm*, *turn*, *mother*, *glitter*. This lowered quality of the retroflexion also makes the dialect distinctive.

[hɜːts] 'blueberries'  
[bɜːn] 'firkin'  
[fɜːst] 'first'  
[wɜːmz], [wɜːr mz]  
[fɜː]



/a/ [a  $\alpha$  a a: v  $\sigma$ ] Since no lower back rounded vowel [ɔ:] is regular, many words with *o* and *au*, *aw* have low central vowels, often fronted and without appreciable contrast in length, even when final. However when the retracted sound [v] is used, the quality is different from the widespread Canadian phoneme common to both *odd* and *awed*. This phoneme /a/ is the first element in the local diphthong /aɪ/. Furthermore, this is the vowel employed widely in words with *-or-* plus consonant. (Old place-name records indicate the age of this pronunciation by their phonetic spellings: *Tarrbay* (1677), *Tar Bay* (1709). But Tors Cove is ['toʔ,sko:v] in the settlement, with syllable division before or after [s] uncertain.)

[raks]  
[frvst]  
[bag]  
[paʎnd]  
[dra:ʔ]  
[trv:ʔn]  
[ʔvʔgʔz] 'rails in fence'  
[nvʔtʔ] 'north'  
[ʔvʔdz,koʔv] 'Lord's Cove'  
[krvʔs]  
[wvʔtʔ,hvʔʔs]

/ʌ/ [ʌ  $\Lambda$ ] The lower mid central vowel has a tendency to be rounded, giving the impression of being retracted toward [ɔ] or raised toward [u].

[skrʌb]  
[gvʔvʔn] 'stomach of cod'  
[mʌgʔʌp] 'snack'  
[pʌmp]  
[gʌt]  
[gʌmps] 'posts on wharf'

/o/ [o: o:ʔoʔ] The mid back vowel generally does not have a clear glide toward [u]. Instead the [o] is likely to be lengthened and often considerably lowered. Thus the lowered /e/ and /o/ of the dialect are two elements of the vowel system which set it off from cultivated speech and other dialects.

[ho:]  
[bæro]  
[pov:ziʔ] 'dandelion flowers'  
[kamədoʔ]  
[do:,boʔz] 'dumplings'

/u/ [u u] The lower high back vowel occasionally is heard in a higher position, closer to [u], but short and without glide, as in the exclamation [luk] ending a sentence.

[fʊt,pæʔ]  
[ʔukʔn]  
[brʊʔk]

/u/ [ʊʌ] The high back vowel begins with [ʊ] (sometimes even lower) and glides to a higher position while the lips become more rounded.

[dʒʊʌ]	'due'
[pʃʊʌ]	'fish-fork'
['keɪp]ɪn ,skʊ]	'caplin school'
[,ri: 'njʊʌz]	'Renews'

/aɪ/ [ɔ̃<sup>+</sup> ɒ ɛ a ʌ ɪ] The diphthongs which glide to the high front position are at present apparently unstable. Depending on his contact with speakers of varieties of standard English, a resident of this area may consciously distinguish between [aɪ] and [ɔɪ]. Or he may have an intermediary vowel for the first element and sound as if he is exchanging the two standard diphthongs, seeming to say *toy* for *tie*, and vice versa. There may be other complexities and conditions of variation which will be discovered in the future.

The diphthong /aɪ/ begins with some low back vowel and glides to a front and high position. The first element is very often lengthened and rounded. If a voiceless consonant follows, the diphthong may be shorter and somewhat raised, but *vise* and *voice*, *kite* and *quoit* are apparently homophonous. In conversation a contrast between *tie* /*toy*, *buy* /*boy*, *I'll* /*oil* is hardly perceptible. When speakers are pressed to distinguish the pairs, the sounds approach the cultivated forms [aɪ] and [ɔɪ].

[sɪeɪdz]	'sleds'
[pɔ̃ɪnts]	'points'
['baɪ ,pæɪ]	'by-path'
['tɔ̃pən ,taɪm]	
[kɔ̃ɪt]	'quoit'
['ræm ,pɛɪk]	'dead, standing tree'
[hɔ̃ɪst]	
['ɔ̃ɪnɔ̃z]	'autumn storms'
[ɪɔ̃:ɪ]	'a lie'

/aʊ/ [aʊ ɔ̃ ɔ̃ a ɔ̃] The retracting diphthong begins with a low central vowel, sometimes raised, and glides to a high back position, with accompanying rounding of the lips.

['grɛɔ̃ʃz]	'small ice-bergs'
['raʊndɔ̃]	'small cod'
['sa:ɔ̃]	
['straʊtɔ̃z]	'posts under front of fishing stage'
['bɛɔ̃ ,fɛnts]	

#### *Lexicon and Grammar*

A clear-cut boundary around key lexical and grammatical items is not so discernible as one demarcating pronunciation. Terminology relating to fishing is widespread, and vocabulary relating to the weather, social affairs, the household, and chores has not yet revealed areas of concentration or complete absence. The following items are found only in the field-records of the Southern Shoreline but may occur in only a few settlements or in the future may be found to extend beyond the boundary indicated by the phonological system.

ground skurry	sneezers
to credit ?	gap 'gate'
demmer 'autumn storm'	tangly 'describes bad weather'
a come-'up	frozy
gulvin	morgens 'mummers'
bivin 'bailing bucket'	Sheilya
palace 'priest's house'	playin duck
stale race 'small stream'	pitchin quoit [kʷɪt]
goulcf ['gʊɫ,]ɛf]	The Wran
heath-berries [heɫtʰ]	deegan
skinnin the old cow	bough fence
scotch-mist	race 'generation'
brass dead-eye	Satan ['sætɪ]
pinnacles	sloe tree ?
shortlers 'kind of fence'?	double suds, sods
buds (of frankum)	barm (two syllables)
dead-cat	east 'yeast'

As for grammar, a small number of forms were noted in the informants' conversations. It is strongly suspected that some of these items have a wider distribution outside the Southern Shoreline, but they will be noted here.

he swum	it riz up; riz bread
he bet (pret. of <i>beat</i> )	me 'my'
it tuck 'took'	[hiɟz] 'his'
haves sg.	be 'by' prep.
clear a few years 'except for a'	

### THE NORTHERN SHORELINE

The dialect here called 'Northern Shoreline' is spoken in certain towns and settlements of Conception Bay, the east coast of Trinity Bay, and around St. John's. Although the following description includes the general and striking features of the pronunciation, it is not possible to say that Northern Shoreline is obviously unified as the developed Anglo-Irish of the Southern Shoreline. Many small variations of the vowel, consonant, and intonation patterns can be heard in the speakers. In general, however, this account presents the phonological framework to be perceived in the older residents of much of Conception Bay.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the informants have Anglican, United Church, Salvation Army, or other Protestant affiliation. Family names and information volunteered by the families usually point to origins in England, frequently the western or southern coast. Negatively, it can be stated that the marked Anglo-Irish qualities of the Southern Shoreline are not present in the speech of the Northern Shoreline.

The speech here called Northern Shoreline is distinctive because of the following features.

<sup>1</sup>A field-worker interviewed speakers in Petty Harbour, Torbay, Pouch Cove, Bauline, Portugal Cove, St. Philips, Carbonear, and Old Perlican. Tapes were obtained in Torbay, Pouch Cove, Lower Island Cove, and Old Perlican. Further incidental information has been gained from former residents of Spout Cove and many other points.

1. Besides the universal glide [r], retroflex vowels occur in words like *Carbonear*, *partridge*, *hurt*, *north*, *cured*. In unstressed positions, as in *liners*, retroflexion is present in some communities, replaced by [ə] in others.
2. The distribution of [h] usually conforms to cultivated practice in Received Standard English and mainland North American English. For some speakers it may drop out within phrases: *wood-'orse*.
3. Except in certain mixed speech between Clarke's Beach and Carbonear, the low front vowel is [æ] in words like *cast*, *after* and *can't*. No stable [a] is employed between [æ] and [ɑ].

The consonant system is either identical with the standard phonemic contrasts of much of the English-speaking world, or lacks the /θ/ and /ð/:

/p	t	č	k
b	d	ǰ	g
f	(θ)	s	š
v	(ð)	z	ž
m	n		ɲ
	l		
	r		
w	y		h/

With the following exceptions, most of the consonants are close to the International Phonetic Alphabet equivalents.

/t/ Besides [t'], [t], and intervocalic lenis [t̪] and glottalized t's that occur, many speakers pronounce a variety of t where standard spelling would have *th*. Detailed listening tests will eventually prove whether these varieties are alveolar or dental—[t] or [t̪]. At present we believe that most of the speakers of the dialect employ their ordinary /t/ for *th* (unless of course mixing with speakers of the Southern Shoreline has allowed the dental /t̪/ to be borrowed, as with the Torbay informant). To state the point in simple terms, the outsider feels that there is a substitution of one sound for another—[t] for [θ]—rather than a strangely pronounced sound—[t̪].

['wɪntə'tən]	'Winterton'
[ə'tɔ'ʔ]	'at all'
['gɪt̪ə]	'rain freezing on trees, posts'
[bi'ɑ'tɪk]	'Beothuk, name of ship'
['təm,kəd]	'small cod'
[tri]	'three'

/d/ In a fashion similar to /t/, [d] is believed to do service for both standard [d] and [ð]. This is especially prevalent in the many quickly spoken phrases and words like *to the*, *in that*, *father*, *mother*.

['pɑ'dɪk]	'stomach of cod'
[,weɪdɪk 'bɑkɪt̪ɪ]	'see-saw'
['mɑdə]	'mother'

/l/ Varieties of l exist in this dialect. Speakers employ dark [ɫ] finally, as a syllabic and in the neighbourhood of low and back vowels. The clear [l] appears

close to high front vowels (and occasionally elsewhere as in Southern Shoreline).

[skʌʔ]	'arrival of caplin'
[ʔoʋʔ, rak]	'shoal-rock'
[ʔle:ʔdʔ]	
[ʔdriʔəʔ]	'small stream'
[ʔkiʔik]	'home-made anchor'
[ʔtiʔtʔ]	'amount added to what is purchased'

/r/ The frictionless [r] appears initially and intervocalically. Furthermore, a central or raised retroflex vowel is widespread, and *r*-colouring is clearly present after other vowels. There are some tendencies to lower [ɪʔ] and [ʊʔ] to [ɛʔ] and [oʔ]. /æʔ/ includes varieties like [æʔ], [aʔ], and [ɐʔ].

[hʋʔʔ f]	
[gɛʔ: ʔ]	'gear'
[hʔʔ ts]	'blueberries'
[vaʔʔ]	'fir'
[beʔdiʔvʔd]	'Bay de Verde'
[ʔbaʔ:ʔnz]	'barrens'
[oʔ]	'oar'
[rɐʔnz]	'pieces of bark'
[stʔ: ʔʔm]	
[bʔʔʔg]	

Speakers in Carbonear, Torbay, Pouch Cove, and Bauline also employ unaccented [ə], sometimes in free variation with [ɐ].

[ʔbʌʔə]
[ʔstre:ndʔəʔ]
[ʔblædəʔ]

Some time in the past, length in low front vowels (or lowering to [a]) was reinterpreted as retroflexion. In one of the Carbonear informants and others (as in some Nova Scotia speech) *r*-colouring appears in this sort of word:

[ʔaʔʔtʔ, æʔ —]

This may account for [ʔʔʔkæʔʔ go] 'Chicago,' which occurs very frequently among young cultivated speakers.

Further inquiry will probably uncover much greater sub-phonemic diversity among the vowels than in the vowel phonemes of Southern Shoreline. The phonemic distinctions follow:

/i		u
ɪ		ʊ
e	ɛʔ	o
ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
æ	a	
aʊ	aɪ	(ɔɪ)/

(A few speakers do have a lengthened allophone [a:] in some words: [fra:nʔs].)

The short vowels /ɪ ɛ æ ʊ a/ are usually close to their IPA qualities. The vowel /ɪ/ may be high before /n/; /ʊ/ may be raised; and /ʌ/ often has the retracted, rounded sound noted in Southern Shore. Diphthongal glides are



customary with /i/ and /u/, though often beginning from a quite low position, but a frequent variation in /e/ and /o/ is a centring glide [e̞] and [o̞] except when final, instead of a rising glide [e̝], [o̝].

[steɪts] 'States'  
[ˌæbrəˈdoʊz] 'doʊz'  
[ˈkeɪplɪn]

Back and low vowels /ɔ/ and /a/ are distinctly in contrast, with the latter sometimes forward: [a̟]. /or/ appears finally, as in [stoːr̩], but when /r/ and a consonant occur, the vowel is very low and might be /ɔr/ or /ar/, as they are frequently indistinguishable:

[stɔr̩m]  
[war̩m]

Finally, the diphthongs of this dialect, /aɪ/ and /aʊ/, offer many shades and differences of initial vowel. Sometimes the initial sound is centred to [ɐ] or [ə], and other speakers front the first part of the second diphthong to [æ] and [ɛ]. Contrasts between /ɔɪ/ and aɪ/ are few, and frequently the lowered type is the only one employed.

[ˈgreɪlɔ̟] 'ice-berg'  
[ˌfɪt ˈeɪt] 'out-fit'  
[ˌmɔ̟t ˈdeɪ] 'lichen on trees'  
[oɪl] 'oil'  
[bɔ̟d] 'boiled'  
[taɪ] 'tie'

## ST. JOHN'S

From the earliest years of European sailing to Newfoundland, the harbour of St. John's, embraced by encircling high hills, has been the principal focus for marine, economic, political, and social activity of the island. It has been the haven for vessels approaching from Europe with both goods and temporary workers or permanent settlers. Even at the present time, despite being located at a point far from the geographical centre of the island or the coastal population, St. John's continues to grow in size, numbers, and governmental and social importance.

Although an adequate study of the speech of St. John's like those of New York and San Francisco<sup>1</sup> cannot yet be essayed, it is fitting to conclude this sketch of prominent dialects of the Avalon Peninsula with some general remarks about the linguistic situation in the capital.

The ideal description of St. John's speech will be derived from interviewing life-long residents who are descended from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century families. In addition, cultivated, common, and folk speakers of the several religious persuasions and older, middle, and younger generations should be selected. Such a survey would indicate both the inherited elements in the speech of the confident, long-rooted population and whatever traits and trends have been absorbed from speakers influenced by other dialects and standards of speech.

City informants equivalent to the older fishermen and wives interviewed in the Avalon out-harbours are less acquainted with fishing than their counterparts. Some have been on the sealing expeditions, but the majority of the older generation has been connected with service employment: sailing and steamships, trade and finance, communications, civil and municipal service, longshore activities, labouring. A further complication, especially since wartime expansion and Confederation, is the considerable increase in the population, for whatever reason, coming notably from the rest of Newfoundland and from many countries around the world. Our main interest here, though, is the central core of residents whose families have lived here for generations, and the great number of citizens who grew up elsewhere on the island or whose parents came from outside St. John's. The following tentative generalizations are based on three years of attentive listening to many varieties of St. John's speech.

The speech of the cultivated and influential in St. John's who are not trained in England or mainland North America has the full complement of twenty-four English consonants, thus indicating their unquestioned membership in the class of cultivated speakers of English scattered everywhere in the world.

/r/ The frictionless glide is employed initially and intervocalically. The retroflex syllabic /ər/ is central or slightly lowered or retracted, like the quality of the /ər/ of the Southern Shoreline, and the weak-stressed equivalent is always retroflex. A full complement of separated retroflex vowels exists, the /ɪr/ and /ʊr/ not lowering to merge with /er/ and /or/.

<sup>1</sup>Hubbell, F., *The Pronunciation of English in New York City*; DeCamp, D., "The Pronunciation of English in San Francisco," *Orbis*, VII, VIII.

pier	[piɹ̥]
pear	[pɛɹ̥]
par /pær/	[paɹ̥],
even	[pæɹ̥]
purr	[pɜːɹ̥]
poor	[puɹ̥]
pour	[pɔɹ̥]
port	[poɹ̥t]

/l/ The Anglo-Irish influence of the clear *l* in all positions has been strong. The Roman Catholic segment of the population and their schools employ it, many cultivated (but untravelled) non-Catholics have clear *l*, and many recent graduates of the non-Catholic high schools reveal this subphonemic distinctive quality. Men and women who have both dark and clear *l*'s originated along the Northern Shoreline or in other parts of Newfoundland or have been strongly influenced by parents who moved to St. John's from elsewhere.

/h/ Cultivated speakers of St. John's agree with educated people on both sides of the Atlantic in their use of /h/, pronouncing it in inherited patterns. It is present in accordance with the spelling, except in the group of French words like *honest*, *hour*, *honour*, and it may be present or absent in pronouns like *he*, *him*, *her*, depending on accompanying strong or weak stress. The local form of *herb* agrees with Received Standard in having the /h/ pronounced.

/w/ There are good indications that words like *wharf* and *whale* agree with Received Standard, customarily beginning with [w].

The vowels of Cultivated reveal differences that are allied with ethnic and religious factors. The phonemes are as follows:

/i/		u
ɪ		ʊ
e	ɛ	o
ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
æ		a
	aɪ	aʊ
	ɔɪ	

In contrast with Southern Shoreline habits, the low-back area of the mouth has two vowels /a/ and /ɔ/, in a pattern similar to Received Standard though lower and less rounded, and the distribution of words like *cot*, *caught*, *dog*, *song*, *law* is parallel to British usage.

The diphthongs /aɪ/ and /ɔɪ/ contrast, though more modern speech reveals a tendency to sound both of them closer to [ɔɪ]. Before voiceless consonants /aɪ/ has a raised first element, as in *night* [nɛɪt], but except for speakers influenced by mainland Canadian speech, /aʊ/ is a constant [aʊ] or [aʊ], whether the subsequent consonant is voiced or voiceless.

/e/, /o/ Both the diphthongal [eɪ], [oɪ] and the lowered and lengthened monophthongs of the Southern Shoreline type are heard.

/æ/ The lowered front vowel is typically [æ] in this speech with neither the lowered [a] before some fricatives, and so on, as in Bay Roberts Dialect, nor [aʲ] as in Received Standard.

/a/ The low central vowel can also be retracted, slightly rounded and lengthened in some words, especially *father* and *St. John's* in formal contexts.

Next, turning to the common and folk speech of lifelong St. John's residents, an observer can note the norms of pronunciation in the capital city which are quite general, and the phonological points present in other dialects which have made no impression here.

Depending on the education and social level of the speaker, there are either twenty-two or twenty-four consonant phonemes, with the replacement or loss of standard [θ] and [ð] accounting for the difference in inventory. As with the other dialects of the Avalon Peninsula, many St. John's speakers (unless in imitation) do not employ [θ] and [ð] but instead substitute [t] and [d] or some other apical stop or affricate. These variant pronunciations are so widespread on the island that they occasion little notice among large numbers of people.

Whereas the unique elements of Bay Roberts and Northern Shoreline have made no appreciable impress on St. John's speech, original Anglo-Irish settlers or speakers of Southern Shoreline dialect have long helped to establish the phonetic trends in St. John's.

/I/ The Southern Shoreline clear / is customary among most speakers of St. John's and is being widely adopted in all religious denominations.

/r/ Southern Shoreline strong retroflexion, even including the lowered and retracted quality in stressed /ɹɹ/, is general. The substituted length or centring glide of *air*, *are*, *oar* of Bay Roberts Dialect is not heard among native city dwellers, but the unaccented -er as in *father*, *after* varies from [ɹ̠] to [ɹ̠̠] in St. John's, sometimes in the same speaker.

/h/ The complicated patternings of [h] found in Bay Roberts Dialect and other speech of Newfoundland do not operate in St. John's. Local usage conforms to standard British practice. Several speakers, though, have been heard to insert an *h* in *Montreal*: [ˌmantrɪ'həl].

/sč-/ Since the usual Avalon usage is /č/ and /j/ in words like *Tuesday* and *due, dew*, it is noteworthy that the same affricate is retained even in clusters. Typical residents of the city employ /sč-/ in *stew* and *stupid*.

As might be expected, the vowel systems range all the way from that of Cultivated, outlined above, to that of the Southern Shoreline. The half-way vowel [a] regular in Bay Roberts Dialect does not prevail in St. John's.

/e/, /o/ Unlike the dominant clear / of Southern Shoreline, the varieties of these vowels are related to denominational lines, age, and level of education. Lowered and lengthened [eː], [oː] are frequent among the Roman Catholics, and [eɪ] and [oʊ] usual among non-Catholics and the younger generation.

/ær/ More extreme than in Cultivated, *ar* is fronted and raised by the majority of St. John's speakers: [æ̟e̟], [æ̟e̟].

Again in the low back vowels, there is variation between speakers and in the same speaker ranging from the Cultivated (and Received Standard) contrast [a:] : [ɔ] to the Southern Shoreline single low vowel phoneme. The Southern Shoreline pattern of sounds is widely heard even outside speakers of Irish descent, and is spreading among the younger generation.

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} /a/ \quad /aI/ \\ /ɔ/ \quad /ɔI/ \end{array} \right\} /a/ \quad /aI/$$

/ʌ/ The lowered mid central vowel is frequently similar to Southern Shore, that is, retracted or apparently raised, and rounded: [ʌʷ].

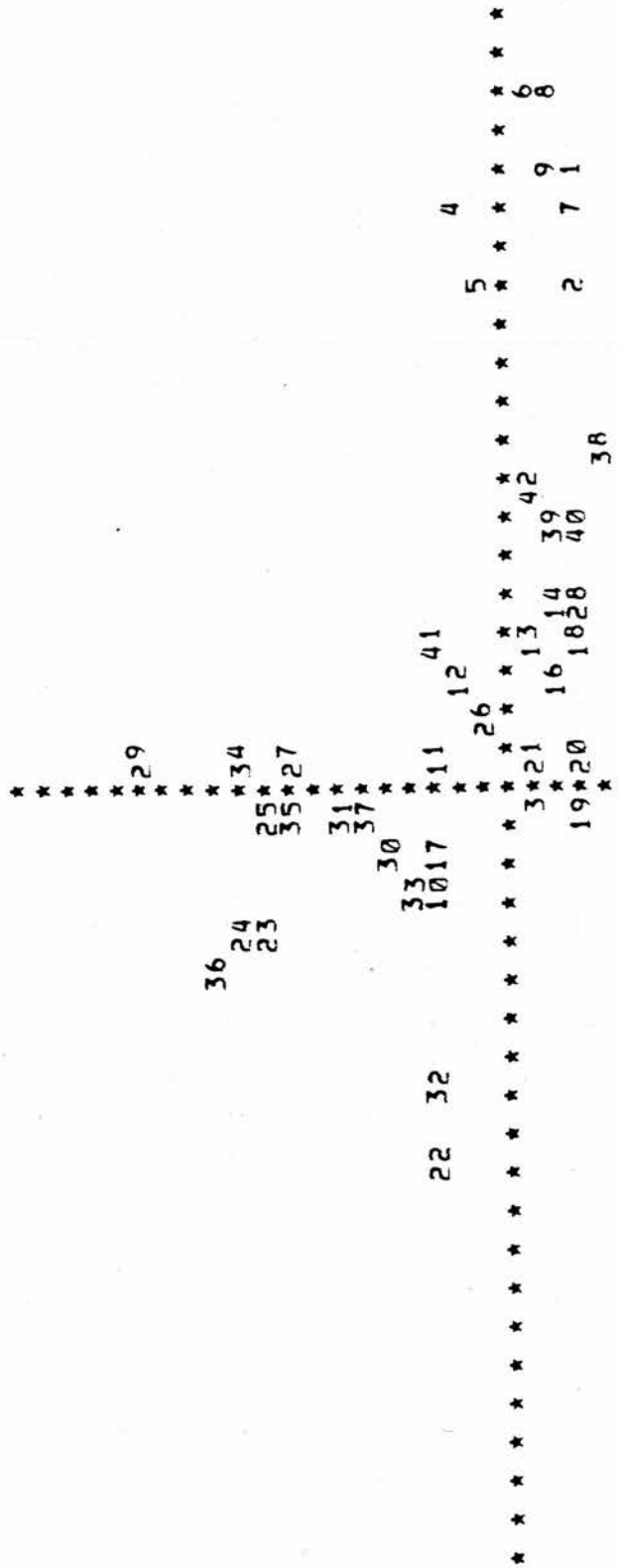
For many decades educational institutions in St. John's have displayed certain standard spellings, inflections, vocabulary, idioms before the citizens, so that extra-insular influences have had a good opportunity to affect local grammatical and lexical usage. These cultural influences first came from England and Ireland with the books, texts, teachers, and clergymen that appeared in St. John's. Since the war and Confederation, British usages and university influences have exerted fewer pressures on local grammar and vocabulary, and United States and Canadian linguistic factors have steadily become more frequent.

Therefore, St. John's speech at present draws on two sources for its grammatical and lexical growth. The responsible classes are in tune with government, education, and all types of media supplying information and entertainment in North America. The casual citizen, on the other hand, is possibly little influenced by the language coming from a distance: in TV fare, Hollywood movies, and repetitive ballads and rhythm pieces on radio and juke-box. Instead he is directly affected by local stimuli of linguistic importance. First, there is the vigorous growth and improvement of the professional classes residing in St. John's, who, we feel, will simply swell the influence of Cultivated St. John's speech outlined above. Next, the influence of other Newfoundlanders wishing to work in St. John's (although in competition with the schools) will add more folk morphology, terms, phrases, and intonational habits to the common speech already present in St. John's. In brief, the dialectal influences on many St. John's speakers in these years of expansion will continue to come from the old Newfoundland stock, from the settlements of Avalon and elsewhere on the Island.





HORIZONTAL FACTOR 1      VERTICAL FACTOR 3

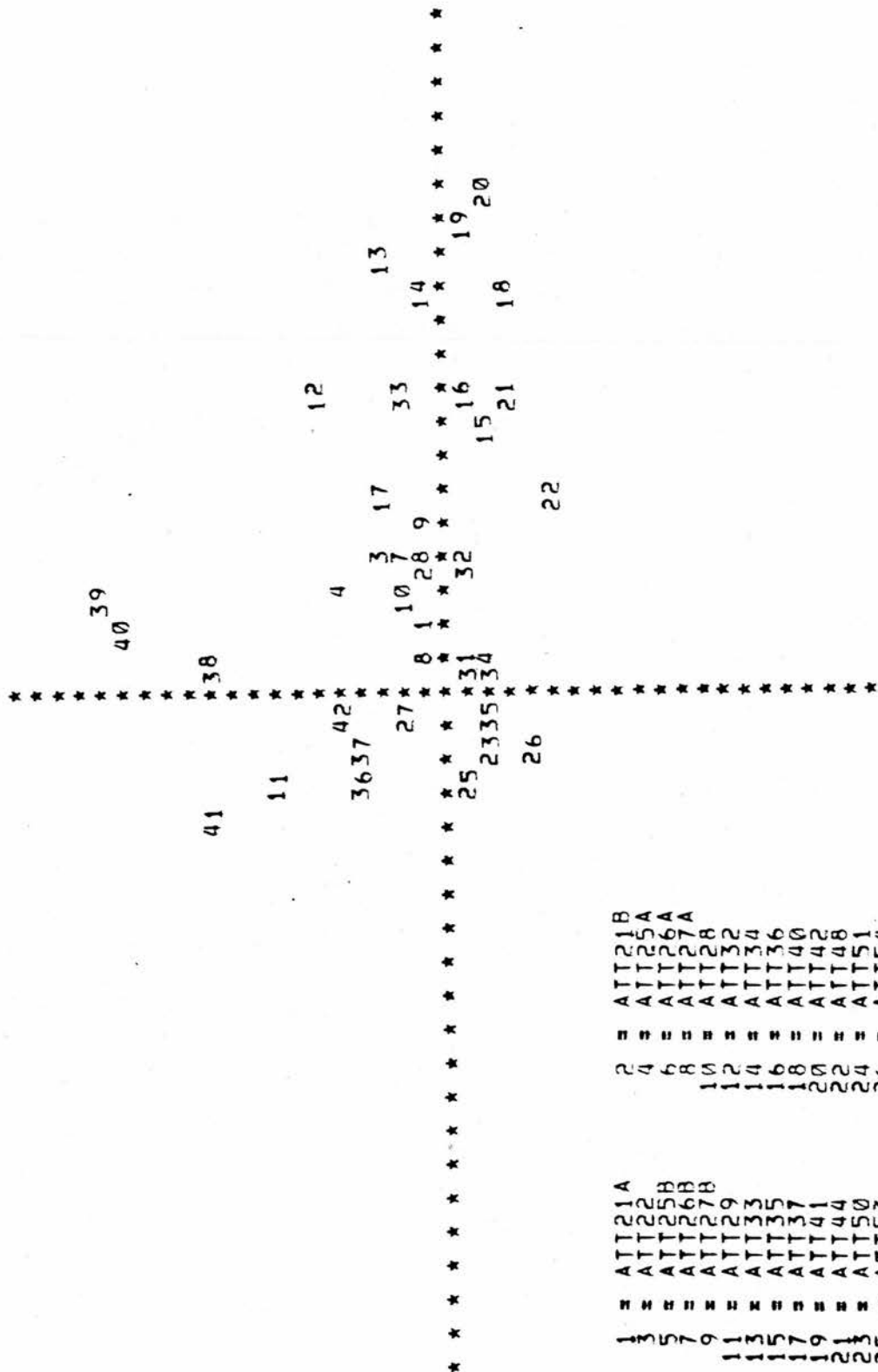


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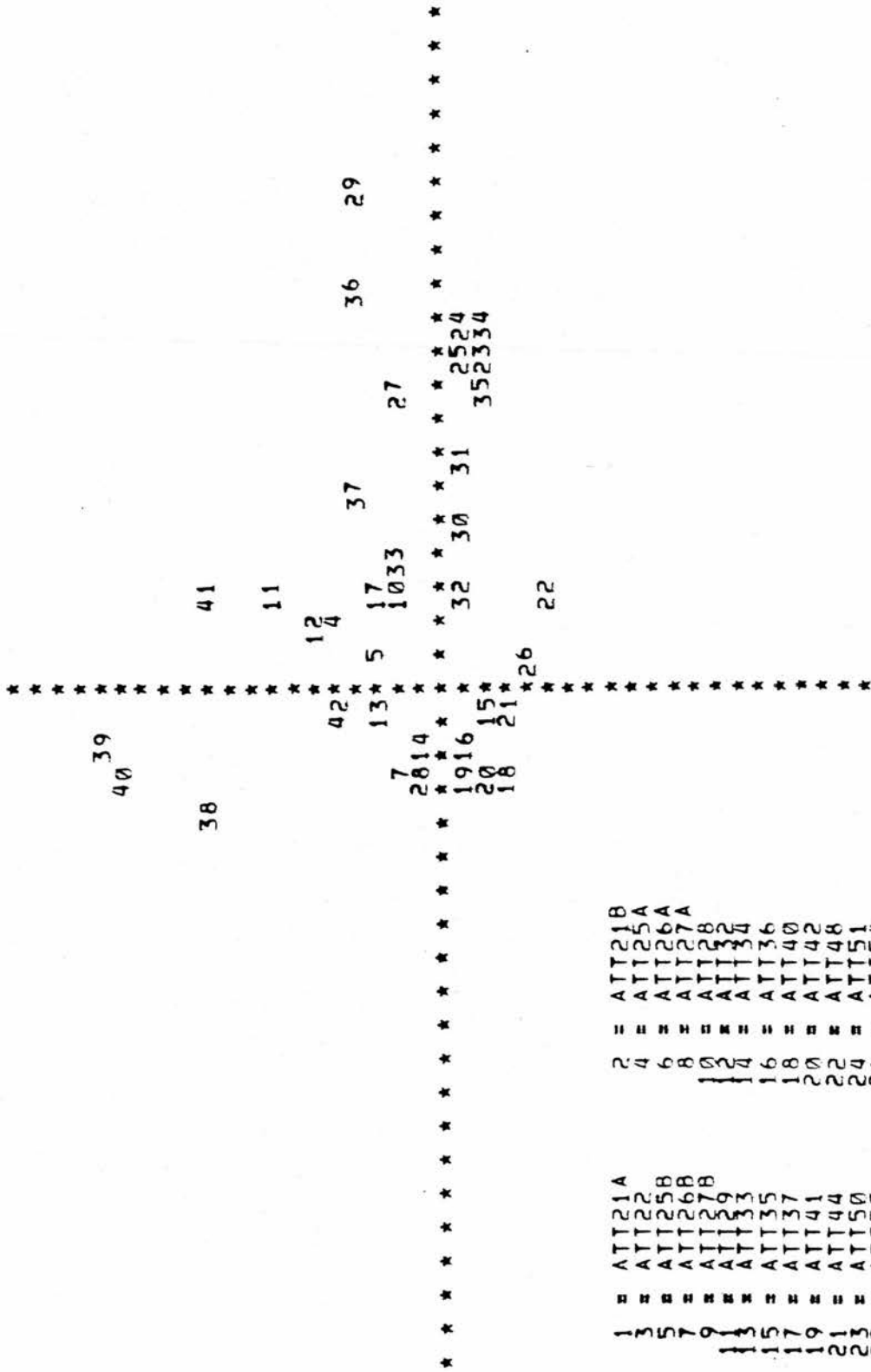


HORIZONTAL FACTOR 2      VERTICAL FACTOR 4





HORIZONTAL FACTOR 3      VERTICAL FACTOR 4



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